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**A Study of Hugh MacDiarmid's
*In Memoriam James Joyce***

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PhD in English Literature
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J Benstead', with a horizontal line drawn underneath the name.

James Benstead

28 June 2019

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the ways in which Hugh MacDiarmid's long poem *In Memoriam James Joyce* incorporates material from various source texts. It argues that *In Memoriam*'s use of citation is a response to the changing status of English as a global language in the first half of the twentieth century, and that understanding the text in this way facilitates new, holistic understandings of MacDiarmid's poetic career. Critics have largely focused on MacDiarmid's earlier work, such as the Scots lyrics and *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, at the expense of engaging with later work such as *In Memoriam*. This approach has meant, moreover, that critics have struggled to develop a coherent understanding of MacDiarmid's overall poetic output. The critical framework developed in this thesis understands *In Memoriam* to be a development of — rather than a divergence from — MacDiarmid's earlier work. Through a close reading of *In Memoriam* that is enabled by a new knowledge of its source materials, this framework demonstrates how the text first foregrounds its own use of citation and then goes on to use citation to develop a series of ideas related to media culture, linguistic history, and its perception of cultural hegemony. Through its analysis of *In Memoriam*, this thesis contends that throughout his career MacDiarmid should be thought of primarily as a poet who made use of citation in order to expose and challenge the power relations that are implicit in the various linguistic hierarchies that he interrogated.

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Introduction

In this thesis I am concerned almost exclusively with *In Memoriam James Joyce*, which I consider to be the fullest development of MacDiarmid's "later" or "mature" work. I divide MacDiarmid's other poetic output into two further periods. The first of these is the early work in Scots: *Sangschaw* (1925), *Penny Wheep* (1926), *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926), and *The Lucky Bag* (1927), and other poems written during this period but not collected until later. I consider *To Circumjack Cencrastus* (1930), *First Hymn to Lenin and Other Poems* (1931), *Second Hymn to Lenin* (1932), and *Scots Unbound and Other Poems* (1932) to make up a transitional middle period, during which MacDiarmid wrote in a Scots that was progressively less dense and introduced more Gaelic themes and language into his work. The "later" or "mature" period begins with *Stony Limits and Other Poems* (1934) and is exemplified by the increased use of English — including a "synthetic English" incorporating scientific or technical vocabularies — and the adoption of a distinctive prose-poem style with minimal regular rhythm or rhyme scheme, and often composed through the citation of pre-existing source material taken from the work of other writers. The emergence of this later style continues through various poems and collections MacDiarmid published in the 1930s and early 1940s, with the later style dominating MacDiarmid's output from the 1943 publication of *Lucky Poet* onwards and — judging by the *Complete Poems* — making up around half of MacDiarmid's total poetic output.¹

With some notable exceptions, critics have focused on MacDiarmid's earlier

1. MacDiarmid's publication history from the 1930s onwards is complicated; much of the material that would appear in *Lucky Poet*, *In Memoriam James Joyce*, *The Kind of Poetry I Want*, and other later volumes seems originally to have been compiled in the 1930s and early 1940s when MacDiarmid was living on Whalsay. This is discussed further in Chapter 2.

work at the expense of engaging with his later work. As I demonstrate in the literature review I undertake in Chapter One, this focus is in part a consequence of the historical development of MacDiarmid studies, which came to valorise certain critical approaches. This valorisation came to define, in turn, much of the initial critical reception of *In Memoriam*. For example, writing in 1945 R. Crombie Saunders describes the “three most valuable attributes” of MacDiarmid’s “Scots poems” as “their emotional power”, “the detachment which gives them their universality”, and “the perfection of their form and language”, before going on to characterise MacDiarmid’s later work as “verbose and inchoate” (“Thistle” 153-154). Kenneth Buthlay has argued that in his early work, MacDiarmid’s “cosmological eye was brought into sharper focus through his use of Scots words”, and that this resulted in MacDiarmid’s “own brand of Imagism” (Hugh 1982 28-9). Buthlay has also described the English language poem “Perfect”, which MacDiarmid first published in *The Islands of Scotland* in 1939, as “the poem that Ezra Pound and the Imagists talked about but did not write, in which ‘the proper and perfect symbol is the natural object’ itself” (Hugh 1964 89). And Roderick Watson has built on Buthlay’s understanding of the Scots lyrics, arguing that they “meet the various Imagist ‘rules’ with considerable success” (MacDiarmid 1985 23). While this conceptualisation of MacDiarmid’s work is often productive and illuminating, it becomes less useful in proportion to the extent that MacDiarmid moves away from techniques that can be seen to draw on the work of the Imagists. Moreover, while more recent work by critics such as Laura O’Connor and Matthew Hart has moved beyond these critical paradigms, their work has retained a focus on MacDiarmid’s earlier output.

The work MacDiarmid produced from *To Circumjack Cencrastus* onwards remains relatively unexplored. As Alan Riach has noted, criticism of *Cencrastus* “registers the poem’s failure as an organic unity but does not adequately suggest the implications of this for the poetry which follows from it”: i.e., MacDiarmid’s middle and later period work, including *In Memoriam James Joyce* (Epic 41). For Riach, addressing

this problem would require a critic “to relinquish the critical idea of an organically unified poem” and “to admit to the failure of one kind of critical procedure” (*Epic* 41). In other words, while certain approaches can facilitate a rich understanding of MacDiarmid’s earlier work, the understanding of the later work may be predicated — following Riach — on abandoning those approaches. But how should we decide what approaches are to replace them? If the failure of the existing approaches to produce a coherent understanding of MacDiarmid’s overall output is a consequence of the way in which those approaches were developed in response to the earlier work then it may be beneficial to develop new approaches in direct response to the later work. Ideally, these new approaches could then be usefully applied to the earlier work, thereby avoiding a repetition of the way in which many of the existing critical approaches fail to account for MacDiarmid’s later work.

But which of the later texts should be the focus, and which of its (or their) formal or thematic properties should guide the development of the approach that is used to read it? One answer is suggested by a debate that took place in the letters pages of the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1965, which saw various correspondents claim that MacDiarmid had appropriated their work, or the work of another writer. The debate began when the poet Glyn Jones wrote to the *TLS*, claiming to have written all but the first line of the poem “Perfect”, which MacDiarmid had included in the 1939 volume *The Islands of Scotland* and which George Sutherland Fraser had quoted in full in his 31 December 1964 *TLS* review of Duncan Glen’s *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Scottish Renaissance*, and the first edition of Kenneth Buthlay’s *Hugh MacDiarmid*. MacDiarmid responded to the issue himself, initially apologising to Jones while also implying that his “plagiarism” of Jones’s work was accidental. However, as more correspondents documented incidents where MacDiarmid appeared to have appropriated the work of other writers, MacDiarmid changed his position, glossing over the allegations, characterising copyright as “a legal matter and not a literary one”, and eventually (mis)quoting T. S. Eliot’s claim in *The Sacred Wood* that “[i]mmature

poets imitate; mature poets steal" (114).

The first suggestion that this aspect of MacDiarmid's work may have been deliberate and systematic was made by the poet and reviewer Hugh Gordon Porteus, who observed that "Mr Glyn Jones is not the only writer to have the honour of seeing his prose ... magically transmuted into the splendid poetry of Mr. Hugh MacDiarmid" (87). Porteus highlights a passage in *In Memoriam James Joyce*:

When a Chinese calligrapher 'copies'
The work of an old master it is not
A forged facsimile but an interpretation
As personal within stylistic limits
As a Samuel or Landowska performance
Of a Bach partita (765)

Porteus claims that these lines were "lifted intact from something I had written twenty years earlier" (87). Moreover, Porteus suggests that "a source-hunter may keep himself profitably occupied for years with this poet" (87). A number of critics, including Kenneth Buthlay, Walter Perrie, and Alan Riach, have undertaken work of this kind, making various suggestions as to the extent to which MacDiarmid made use of textual appropriation, especially in the composition of *In Memoriam*.² Indeed, the fragment of *In Memoriam* that Porteus claims to be a "transmuted" version of his own prose seems itself to refer to and attempt to justify the sort of textual appropriation that is highlighted in the *TLS* debate. The verb "'copies'" is itself called into question through the use of quotation marks, and the act of copying is not the deliberately misleading, precision imitation of a "forged facsimile" but a creative act of "interpretation" that is as "personal" as a virtuoso performance of a piece of classical music. While the *TLS* debate sees MacDiarmid try to characterise his acts of textual appropriation as accidental and, when this is no longer possible, to obfuscate the issue, in *In Memoriam* he seems to foreground the idea. It seems, then, that a new approach to

2. See, for example, Buthlay's "Some hints for source-hunters", Perrie's "Prosody and Politics in 'In Memoriam James Joyce'", and Riach's *Hugh MacDiarmid's Epic Poetry*.

reading MacDiarmid's work could be developed through an initial focus on *In Memoriam* and, more precisely, on *In Memoriam*'s use of textual appropriation. Indeed, while this approach would begin with *In Memoriam*, the way in which MacDiarmid justifies his approach in the *TLS* debate as having "used 'a strong solution of books'" appeared previously in the preface to *Annals of the Five Senses*, where it serves as a preemptive defence for his technique there.

The first aim of this thesis is therefore to develop a critical framework that can account for *In Memoriam*, and especially for the text's use of textual appropriation. In decoupling this attempt to understand *In Memoriam* from those critical approaches that privilege MacDiarmid's earlier work, I am not proposing that gaining an understanding of MacDiarmid's later work is predicated on approaching it differently to the earlier work. Instead, my hypothesis is that a framework that can account for *In Memoriam* and its appropriation of other texts might also be used to reappraise the earlier work, including both more explicitly appropriative texts such as *Annals* and texts such as the Scots lyrics which, while not usually appropriating texts in this way, still rely on other texts — such as dictionaries — in their construction. The way in which my thesis accounts for *In Memoriam* as a text that appropriates other texts can therefore be used to reevaluate MacDiarmid's earlier work in a way that emphasises the continuities that run through MacDiarmid's output and facilitates the understanding of this output as a coherent body of work.

In developing this framework, I argue that *In Memoriam*'s use of textual appropriation is a fundamental aspect of how the text produces its poetic effects. I therefore come to refer to what I term *In Memoriam*'s "citational poetics": that is, the ways in which *In Memoriam* generates meaning through the selection and transformation of a range of source materials, and through bringing these transformed source materials together in various combinations. While I maintain that these citational poetics represent the development of specific, pre-existing aspects of MacDiarmid's earlier poetics, my second aim is to demonstrate that the maturation of these techniques occurred

in response to contemporary changes in the status of English as what we would now refer to as a global language. In demonstrating this, I highlight further continuities that exist between MacDiarmid's earlier and later work, contending that his understanding of global English represents a development of his earlier perception — expressed, amongst other place, in "The English Ascendancy in British Literature" — of the way in which a standardised form of English had established hegemonic control within Britain and Ireland.

To realise these aims, I have argued that *In Memoriam* must be understood primarily as a product of its citational poetics. My close reading of passages in the text is therefore often influenced by a knowledge of the source materials that have been drawn on in the text's composition. Only through a knowledge of these sources can we understand the way in which they have been selected and transformed before their inclusion in *In Memoriam*. Moreover, in order to understand the way that two individual sources are combined at the edge of a particular passage, a knowledge of the preceding and succeeding passages' sources is necessary. But in approaching *In Memoriam* in this way an even broader knowledge of the text's source materials is required. As *In Memoriam* is 6,000 lines long, a reading of the text will inevitably be selective, with some passages being subjected to detailed analysis while others are not. As is the case with most readings of most texts, reading *In Memoriam* is therefore predicated on a series of decisions regarding which parts of the text to analyse. However, as I am contending that the text's meaning is determined in part by the way in which it appropriates other texts, in the context of my reading of *In Memoriam* it follows that these decisions must themselves be influenced by a knowledge of the text's sources. Therefore, before undertaking my reading of *In Memoriam* it is necessary to collate as much information as possible regarding the source materials that MacDiarmid drew on in the composition of the text. In using this approach, I may seem on one level to be disagreeing with critics such as Kenneth Buthlay, who has written that "the mere accumulation of source-material ... is a snare to be avoided", in part because these

activities would distract from “writing the more positive and discriminating criticism of MacDiarmid’s work that is badly needed” (“Some” 51). Indeed, I am contending that knowledge of *In Memoriam*’s source material will in fact facilitate the writing of “more positive and discriminating criticism”. But technological developments since Buthlay made this claim in 1978 have created a context that is radically different from the one within which his argument was grounded. The development of the internet, internet search engines, and, especially, Google Books (since 2004, with books continually being added) and the *Times Literary Supplement* Historical Archive (since 2011) has made the process of discovering sources far less labour-intensive. Rather than relying on a knowledge of the materials that MacDiarmid was likely to have had access to and then working through entire books or multiple issues of journals or newspapers with no guarantee that a source will be found, these digital tools mean that multiple texts and entire archives can be searched exhaustively for a given phrase within minutes or less. This massive increase in efficiency creates the opportunity to do something new: that is, to map out much of the source material that was used to construct *In Memoriam* with a relatively small outlay of resources. Buthlay in fact raises a further objection to an approach such as this, arguing that even if he did have access to a complete list of all of the source material used by MacDiarmid, this would not be useful “where a great deal of his later poetry is concerned, except in cases where an individual item is of special interest in itself or in the use to which it is put” (“Some” 52). But in practise we cannot know whether a source is of “special interest” solely by reference to *In Memoriam* itself. For any given passage of the text, we need to know its sources before we can evaluate whether those sources are interesting. And we cannot know the relative importance of any given source relative to other sources — either in and of itself or in terms of how it is transformed and included in *In Memoriam* — without an understanding of the sources that is as complete as possible.

In compiling my index of *In Memoriam*’s source materials I observed the spirit of Buthlay’s comment regarding the way in which such a task could become a distrac-

tion from more meaningful engagement with the text. The work I have undertaken is secondary to and in service of my analysis of *In Memoriam* — and will hopefully facilitate future analyses. Moreover, I have prioritised efficiency when undertaking this work. Beginning with the sources that have been identified by other scholars — the single greatest resource being Alan Riach’s *Hugh MacDiarmid’s Epic Poetry* — I have worked through *In Memoriam* line-by-line, searching first in the TLS Historical Archive then in Google Books, and finally in the standard Google Search. The TLS is MacDiarmid’s most commonly used single source, providing over 100 individual citations, from issues dated between 1932 and 1954. Google Books facilitates a search of 25 million scanned books. Many of the positive search results returned sufficient information to identify the source of a given passage. On other occasions a search result would only return a title or page number; this could then be cross-referenced with physical books at the National Library of Scotland or Edinburgh University Library. Occasionally an interlibrary loan was necessary, such as with Helmut von Glasenapp’s essay “The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature”, which provides much of the material that makes up “The Meeting of the East and the West”, the fourth section of *In Memoriam*.³ Edinburgh University Library Special Collections includes MacDiarmid’s own library, so it has also been possible to cross-reference some sources with MacDiarmid’s personal copies of certain texts: for example, the twelve line quotation that opens the first section of *In Memoriam* is taken — as the text suggests — from A. G. Pape’s 1928 novel *The Politics of the Aryan Road*; MacDiarmid’s copy of the book, complete with distinctive and idiosyncratic bookplate, can be consulted at Special Collections. When a given fragment of *In Memoriam* did not result in any hits in the TLS Historical Archive or Google Books, I next tried a standard Google Search. Since searching in this way is less focused than using the other two indexes it is more likely to bring up unhelpful search results. In order to maintain

3. While this text certainly seems to have provided the material that MacDiarmid draws on in the composition of “The Meeting of the East and the West”, it seems unlikely that MacDiarmid would have encountered it in *The Culcutta Review*, where it originally appeared in 1928. I have not been able to determine where MacDiarmid encountered von Glasenapp’s essay. However, it seems likely that it would have been in a book that reprinted the essay at some point after its initial publication.

efficiency, it is therefore helpful to undertake a general Google Search after the possibilities presented by the *TLS* Historical Archive and Google Books have first been exhausted. However, once this has been done, the catch-all nature of Google Search can reveal further information regarding the source material MacDiarmid used in the composition of *In Memoriam*. Some of its positive hits originate from web projects such as the collection of scanned and transcribed books offered by the Internet Archive and Project Gutenberg, which are not themselves indexed by Google Books. Other hits come from digitised archives of print material which are open access and therefore indexed by Google Search, such as the *Spectator* Archive for issues published between 1828 and 2008. And still other hits come from the multitude of small-scale projects, often run by individuals or small groups, such as single-author literary societies, which have inadvertently quoted (and provided attribution for) the sources used by MacDiarmid.

If searching the *TLS* Historical Archive, Google Books, and Google Search in turn did not reveal a source for a give fragment of *In Memoriam*, I moved on to the next fragment. This approach ensured that the process of source-hunting was focused and limited, thereby taking on board the spirit of the objections raised by Buthlay. The efficiency of this process was increased further by drawing on the textual clues that direct the reader to certain sources, such as footnotes that make reference to books and articles that material had been taken from.⁴ Moreover, as I used this model to undertake the work of finding *In Memoriam*'s source material, I developed a sense of how MacDiarmid appeared to have used his sources that made the process even more efficient. For example, I developed an increasingly accurate intuition for when one source transitioned into another, or for when material was taken from a review that was itself providing commentary on a quotation from a further text. I also found that the way in which I chose which lines to use as search terms became more effective as I performed more searches. In this sense, while much of the work involved

4. The citations provided in *In Memoriam* should be read especially sceptically, however, as they often refer to primary materials when MacDiarmid had in fact consulted a review that had itself quoted from those materials. I discuss this "second-order quotation" in Chapter Five.

with identifying the source materials *In Memoriam* draws on is mechanical and repetitive, there is also an element of the work that can benefit from a developed human intuition. Conversely, the way in which the task of uncovering *In Memoriam*'s source materials developed my intuitive sense for the text's composition came to inform and facilitate my reading of the text. The new technological context means that the opposition Buthlay presented between "the mere accumulation of source-material" and "positive and discriminating criticism of MacDiarmid's work" is no longer as clear-cut as he suggested ("Some" 51). But in addition to these indices of *In Memoriam*'s sources, this work also leads to a conceptual re-framing of *In Memoriam* that goes on to inform my reading of the text. With many of its source materials discovered, I think of *In Memoriam* as part of a triple-layered intertextual object. The uppermost layer is the copy text itself: specifically, the 1955 first edition published by William MacLellan, which includes a number of paratextual elements that inform my reading of the text. Beneath this layer is what I refer to as the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext, which is representative of a massive work of citational poetry that MacDiarmid proposed but never finished — but from which multiple published works originated, including *In Memoriam*.⁵ And beneath this layer is the vast collection of source materials that MacDiarmid drew on in the composition of the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext, a subset of which fed in to *In Memoriam*. This conceptualisation of *In Memoriam* therefore broadly mirrors my division of the text's citational poetics into separate operations of selection, transformation, and combination. Broadly speaking, the source material layer corresponds to the process of selection, the urtext to transformation, and the copy text to combination — although the creation of the urtext also involves a preliminary combination of source materials, and the creation of some parts of the copy text may involve some additional transformations of source materials. And this understanding of *In Memoriam* is further complicated by the way

5. Other published works to emerge from the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext include "Cornish Heroic Song" itself, "Once in a Cornish Garden", "The Terrible Crystal", *The Battle Continues*, *The Kind of Poetry I Want*, and *Impavidi Progrediamur*. I describe the urtext in more detail in Chapter Two.

in which a disproportionate number of the text's source materials themselves cite further sources, such as book reviews that quote from the books they are reviewing. But this approach to *In Memoriam*, grounded in a knowledge of its source materials that is as complete as practicably possible, provides a conceptualisation of the text that begins to develop an understanding of the text that is decoupled from those critical approaches that privilege MacDiarmid's earlier work.

This understanding of *In Memoriam* allows me to begin to locate the text within three interlocking theoretical frameworks. The first of these is provided by Gérard Genette's understanding of "transtextuality": specifically, those parts of transtextuality that Genette terms "paratextuality" and "hypertextuality". For Genette, a paratext refers to those objects included in a published work in addition to the main text, such as prefaces, epigraphs, footnotes, and afterwords, whereas a hypertext is one that derives from or alludes to an earlier text, known as a hypotext. Viewing *In Memoriam* in terms of paratextuality facilitates a reading of the text that accounts for the meaning of the distinctive presentation of the 1955 first edition of the text, whereas hypertextuality provides a vocabulary with which *In Memoriam*'s use of source materials can be described. These concepts lead in to a second framework: Marjorie Perloff's work on "Late Modernism", an understanding of some twentieth century texts that is also suggested by a thread that can be teased out of the existing critical literature, which connects the work of Nan Shepherd and Edwin Morgan with later work by Alan Riach and W. N. Herbert. Riach and Herbert published a series of articles in the 1980s and early 1990s that culminated in the publication of two monographs: Riach's *Hugh MacDiarmid's Epic Poetry* (1991) and Herbert's *To Circumjack MacDiarmid* (1992). Perloff argues that the work of "postmodernist" writers such as those represented in Donald Allen's 1960 collection *The New American Poetry 1945-1960* does not represent as significant a break from the trends of modernism, and suggests instead the term "late modernist" be used to refer to what she sees as a continuation of the modernist projects of the early twentieth century. Perloff's conceptualisation of late

modernism facilitates the historical location of *In Memoriam* within the development of twentieth-century literature. This is a particularly helpful way to think of the text, accounting as it does for the way the text was composed over an extended period between 1932 and 1955. Finally, Marilyn Randall's understanding of "pragmatic plagiarism" extends the Genette-Perloff framework in a way that allows it to be connected with *In Memoriam*'s preoccupation with the changing status of English as a global language. Randall argues that plagiarism is more of a pragmatic than a textual category, and contends that it is first and foremost a function of power. Distinguishing between plagiarism and "textual repetition", Randall connects these concepts with ideas relating to authorship and historical understandings of colonial power.

The comparative lack of critical engagement with MacDiarmid's work means that I have been able to cover the body of critical work that does exist relatively directly. Chapter One of this thesis therefore undertakes an extended literature review, which performs two functions. Firstly, it analyses the ways in which critical engagements with MacDiarmid's work have stalled, especially with regards to the later work, and how critics' decisions have caused MacDiarmid's earlier work to be valued more highly than his later work. Against this background, the chapter highlights the texts that move beyond these approaches, teasing out the critical threads that engage more effectively with MacDiarmid's later work, and especially *In Memoriam*, beginning with Nan Shepherd's 1938-9 article "The Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid" and moving through Edwin Morgan's engagements with MacDiarmid's work from the 1950s onwards, and onto the 1980s and 1990s work of Alan Riach and W. N. Herbert.

Chapter Two develops a critical framework within which *In Memoriam* can be read. It grounds this framework in a description of the text's complex composition and publication history, before developing it by way of addressing two ways in which contributors to the *TLS* debate argued that *In Memoriam* should be devalued. Allegations of plagiarism are contrasted with Marilyn Randall's understanding of the concept as a pragmatic category that "is not an immanent feature of texts, but rather

the result of judgements involving ... a conjunction of social, political, aesthetic, and cultural norms" (4). Arguments regarding the poetic status of *In Memoriam* — that is, whether prose sources could be turned into poetry solely through the addition of line breaks — are addressed by locating MacDiarmid's citational poetics within the context of Marjorie Perloff's work on the use of citation by writers such as Marcel Duchamp, Louis Zukofsky, T. S. Eliot, Walter Benjamin, and Kenneth Goldsmith (*Unoriginal* 27, 147). Understanding MacDiarmid's later work within this context facilitates a typology of its poetics that distinguishes between processes that select specific source materials over others, those that transform those source materials (including, but not limited to, the addition of line breaks), and those that combine the transformed source materials. This typology is developed by borrowing terminology from Genette's understanding of hypertext.

Chapter Three grounds this critical framework in an understanding of MacDiarmid's broader thought, which is in turn shown to be connected to MacDiarmid's perception of the changing status of English as a global language. The text's complex publication history means that an understanding of that history is necessary in order to properly understand *In Memoriam*'s position within the context of MacDiarmid's broader thought. With this understood, the intellectual context within which *In Memoriam* was composed can be considered through the analysis of MacDiarmid's prose output from the 1920s onwards. The intellectual context that is of particular relevance to *In Memoriam* includes five separate but interconnected preoccupations, each of which informs an understanding of MacDiarmid's perception of the changing status of English as a global language: the relationship between *In Memoriam* and what MacDiarmid terms "world literature"; the ways in which *In Memoriam* relates to a modernist tradition, and to modernity; *In Memoriam*'s status as an "heroic", "epic", or simply "long" poem; the history and development of what MacDiarmid termed the "Gaelic Idea"; and MacDiarmid's evolving relationship to what he termed "synthetic" languages.

Chapter Four analyses *In Memoriam*'s extensive paratexts — including its illustrations, epigraphs, and “Author’s Note” — and its first section, through the lens of the critical framework developed from Randall’s and Perloff’s work and grounded in ideas related to global English. The paratexts present a series of challenges to the idea that a text is the work of an individual author. As part of this, aspects of the paratexts — especially the use of quotation in the “Author’s Note” and the epigraphs — introduce the concept of a citational poetics. *In Memoriam*'s first section also foregrounds its own citational poetics, doing so in parallel with the introduction of ideas that relate to the development of global English. Moreover, the text’s introduction of these ideas is consistently opposed with an international “world language”. The development of this world language is related to an intellectual framework that combines the “mind of Europe” developed by T. S. Eliot in “Tradition and the Individual Talent” with the idea of a Celtic intellectual network that MacDiarmid takes from Druidic history. And the development of this world language is intermixed with the development of a series of ideas relating to different forms of language, beginning with written language, before moving through language that is spoken, sung, and broadcast, and on to the idea of silence and what might exist beyond it.

With *In Memoriam*'s preoccupation with global English — and the connection between global English and the text’s use of citation — established, Chapter Five analyses the way in which the text’s second section — “The World of Words” — makes use of some of *In Memoriam*'s most common citational tropes. These include the transformation of paratextual material, such as advertising copy and text that originally appeared in footnotes; the construction of catalogues, which list sequences of names, book titles, etc; the development of extended metaphors, where a metaphorical space is developed around a given theme — such as archery or Arctic exploration; and second-order citation, where *In Memoriam* cites material that was itself being cited in the text that *In Memoriam* took as its source, such as excerpts from books that were being reviewed in the *TLS*. These techniques create multiple

instances of recontextualisation — such as the inclusion of an advert or a scientific paper in a literary text like *In Memoriam* — that generate potential new readings and raise questions regarding the way in which different registers of text might be read. “The World of Words” reframes *In Memoriam* as a text that brings together generalist and simultaneist approaches in a way that intersects with a nexus of ideas connected with global English, including print culture and academic discourse.

Chapter Six engages with *In Memoriam*’s shorter third, fourth, and fifth sections, “The Snares of Varuna”, “The Meeting of the East and the West”, and “England is Our Enemy”, and with the text’s final section, “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”. “Snares” and “Meeting” fulfil the commitment made in *In Memoriam*’s first section to be “more concerned / With the East than the West” and to demonstrate an awareness that “the Tarim valley is of more importance / Than the Jordan or the Rhine in world history” (801). Through its consideration of lost and re-found European intellectual traditions, “Snares” engages with the second part of that couple; in so doing, the text begins to present itself as something approaching a postcolonial poetics: but one that identifies British colonialism with the same reifying aspects of modernity that have elsewhere been identified with global English. “Meeting” focuses on the emergence of the wide range of European languages (i.e., the focus of the linguistic concerns of the first two sections of the text) from Proto-Indo-European, and connects this with an extended version of the “Gaelic Idea” that MacDiarmid had developed in the 1920s and early 1930s and which itself influences the first part of the Celtic brotherhood/mind of Europe idea developed throughout the first section of *In Memoriam*. Through an extended citation from Ford Madox Ford, “England” revisits and foregrounds the idea of tradition introduced through a reference to Eliot in the opening section of the text (862). Finally, Plaited develops metaphors for integration and resolution such as plaiting, binding, and weaving. My analysis shows how these metaphors re-foreground the text’s citational poetics. Through the consideration of specific citations and intertexts I demonstrate how *In Memoriam*

continues to present itself in the context of literatures of decolonisation. The speaker then experiences a crisis of confidence regarding the success of his project, and this in turn develops into a lack of faith in the text's readership. A further revisitation — to the pregnant silence idea developed in the first section of the text — allows the speaker to resolve this crisis and, in so doing, facilitates the completion of the Celtic brotherhood / mind of Europe community that underpins the text, through the addition of an imagined future readership. In their final analysis, the speaker resolves that the development of a new poetics is necessitated by the reifying effects of the scientific modernity and homogenous global culture that are themselves intertwined with the development of global English, but that it can only occur symbiotically with the development of its readership.

This thesis claims that understanding MacDiarmid's later work, such as *In Memoriam*, is predicated on developing a fresh critical framework that diverges from those approaches that have been used successfully to read MacDiarmid's earlier work. This new framework should focus on the way in which MacDiarmid selects, transforms, and combines pre-existing source material in order to create poetic meaning. When considered in the specific context of *In Memoriam*, the development of these poetics can be seen to be grounded in a preoccupation with the changing status of English as a global language, and with a series of cultural developments that are related to global English. Understanding MacDiarmid's later work in this way also suggests a new approach to reading his earlier work, whereby the harvesting of Scots words from dictionaries and phrasebooks is viewed as anticipating the wholesale citation in the later work of passages from books, journals, and magazines. Citation is the continuous thread that runs from *Annals of the Five Senses*, through the Scots lyrics and *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* to *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, the Hymns to Lenin, and *On a Raised Beach*, and on to *In Memoriam*, *The Kind of Poetry I Want*, and the rest of MacDiarmid's later work.

Chapter One

In this chapter I review the critical literature that has been published in response to MacDiarmid's work. After describing the available bibliographies of this work and providing a note on MacDiarmid's own publishing history, I divide my consideration of this critical literature into six sections. The first section summarises the key trends in the field up to the moment of *In Memoriam*'s publication in 1955, beginning with Denis Saurat's 1924 article "Le Groupe de 'La Renaissance Écossaise'". These trends led to certain critical approaches being privileged over others by the time *In Memoriam* was published. The second section of this chapter demonstrates how this valorisation influenced the initial critical reception of *In Memoriam*, with critics either not valuing the text highly or being sufficiently confused by it that their engagements with the text were minimised. The most important exception to this pattern was Edwin Morgan's review of *In Memoriam*, "Jujitsu for the Educated", which can be located in a thread of thematically similar work that had begun with his 1954 article "Modern Makars: Scots and English" and which would continue at least until the 1980s, before reemerging for a final time in the 2006 essay "Poetry and Virtual Realities". The third section summarises this work by Morgan, and demonstrates how its direct engagement with MacDiarmid's later work causes it to stand apart from much of the criticism that preceded and succeeded it. Section four of this chapter considers the period immediately following the initial critical reception of *In Memoriam* through to 1978, the year of both MacDiarmid's death and of the first publication of the *Complete Poems*. While there are some notable exceptions, including work by Kenneth Buthlay and Philip Pacey, and some further work that appeared in special issues of

publications such as *Agenda* and *Akros*, much of the critical material published in this period repeats the patterns and tendencies that had been established in the field prior to the publication of *In Memoriam*. In so doing, this material fails to engage effectively with MacDiarmid's later work. The fifth section focuses on the period of renewed critical interest in MacDiarmid's work following his death in 1978 and the concurrent publication of the *Complete Poems*, which runs through to the publication in the early 1990s of two monographs: Alan Riach's *Hugh MacDiarmid's Epic Poetry* and W. N. Herbert's *To Circumjack MacDiarmid*. I trace these texts to work produced by Riach and Herbert in the 1980s and 1990s, and argue that this work is a continuation of the approach maintained by Morgan since the publication of *In Memoriam*. In the final section of this literature review I summarise the work that has been published since the early 1990s: that is, since the beginning of Carcanet's *MacDiarmid 2000* project, which made MacDiarmid's work far more accessible. I conclude that despite some valuable contributions to the field, the understanding of MacDiarmid's later work has not progressed significantly since the early 1990s.

MacDiarmid bibliographies and MacDiarmid's publication history

This literature review draws on bibliographic work carried out by W. R. Aitken, Michael K. Glenday, and Duncan Glen. Aitken produced the first bibliography of MacDiarmid's work, *A First Checklist*, in 1958. A revised edition, including work published by MacDiarmid after 1958, was published by Aitken in 1962, and *A Second Check List*, covering the period from 1959 onwards and including some secondary material, was published by Aitken in 1970. In 1992 these checklists were followed by *A Bibliography of Hugh MacDiarmid*, which collates the work in the earlier checklists and also includes more recent publications; a second section lists secondary material about MacDiarmid published from 1977 onwards. Aitken states in his introduction to the 1992 *Bibliography* that this section is "intended to supplement" Glenday's 1979 work, *Hugh MacDiarmid: A Bibliography of Criticism, 1924-78* (297). Despite its publication date, Aitken's 1992

Bibliography only includes material published up to 1988. Taking this *Bibliography* together with Glenday's *Bibliography of Criticism* therefore provides the core of a MacDiarmid bibliography that covers material published up to 1988. In addition to these works, Aitken and Glenday list some further bibliographies, all by Glen: the "chronological bibliography" provided in *Hugh MacDiarmid (Christopher Murray Grieve) and the Scottish Renaissance* (1964), *A Small Press and Hugh MacDiarmid* (1970), and *Forward From Hugh MacDiarmid* (1977). *A Small Press and Hugh MacDiarmid* contains a checklist of publications issued by Glen's publishing house, Akros, between 1962 and 1970; *Forward From Hugh MacDiarmid* contains a checklist of Akros publications issued between 1962 and 1977. The vast majority of MacDiarmid's surviving manuscripts and letters are held at the National Library of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh Library, with smaller collections held at Yale University's Beinecke Library, the University at Buffalo Library in New York, and the University of Delaware Library. In addition to these collections, OCLC's *ArchiveGrid* lists a number of much smaller collections — sometimes only one or two items each — in various locations, many of which are in North America.

It is only relatively recently — and largely through Carcanet's *MacDiarmid 2000* project — that much of MacDiarmid's work became relatively widely available. This has especially been the case with MacDiarmid's prose work, much of which was only collected in the three *Raule Tongue* volumes published as part of *MacDiarmid 2000* in 1997 and 1998. The availability, or otherwise, of MacDiarmid's work has inevitably contributed to the extent and content of critical engagements with that work. A brief review of MacDiarmid's publication history therefore provides helpful context for this literature review. In addition to *The Raule Tongue*, which collected MacDiarmid's work for newspapers and periodicals, *MacDiarmid 2000* included a *Selected Prose* which reproduced 33 of MacDiarmid's most important essays. Before the publication of *The Raule Tongue* and *Selected Prose*, much of MacDiarmid's prose was only available in its original medium of publication — often journals or magazines with relatively short print runs and therefore somewhat limited availability to researchers — or through

a handful of collections, such as *The Uncanny Scot* (1968), edited by Kenneth Buthlay, or *Selected Essays* (1969), edited by Duncan Glen. Many of MacDiarmid's longer prose works were reprinted as part of *MacDiarmid 2000*; however, notable omissions include the 1939 work *The Islands of Scotland* and the important essay "The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea", originally published in *The Modern Scot* across two issues in 1931 and 1932. The latter is most readily available in the 1969 *Selected Essays* edited by Glen. The largest single published collection of MacDiarmid's letters is Alan Bold's *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid* (1984), which has been supplemented by three further collections: the *New Selected Letters*, edited by Dorian Grieve, Owen Dudley Edwards, and Alan Riach; *The Hugh MacDiarmid — George Ogilvie Letters* (1988), Catherine Kerrigan's collection of letters MacDiarmid sent to George Ogilvie, his former teacher at Broughton Junior Student Centre in Edinburgh; and Susan R. Wilson's *The Correspondence Between Hugh MacDiarmid and Sorley Maclean* (2010), which includes letters written by both poets. In addition to these volumes, John Manson's *Dear Grieve* (2011) collects letters written to MacDiarmid by a number of different people, and Beth Junor's *Scarcely Ever Out of My Thoughts* (2007) collects letters sent to MacDiarmid by his second wife, Valda Trevlyn Grieve.

MacDiarmid 2000 also collected almost all of MacDiarmid's poetic output. The two-volume Carcanet *Complete Poems* (1994) is effectively a reprinting (with corrections) of the 1985 Penguin edition of the *Complete Poems*, which was itself a reprinting (also with corrections, and an appendix of previously unpublished poems) of the 1978 Martin Brian & O'Keefe *Complete Poems*. It has been supplemented by *The Revolutionary Art of Future* (2003), which collects poems taken from the archives of the National Library of Scotland, most of which had not been published before.¹ Prior to the publication of the 1978 *Complete Poems* the availability of MacDiarmid's work was limited and inconsistent. This was partly due to MacDiarmid's complex publishing history. As I describe in Chapter Two, MacDiarmid spent much of the period from 1933 to 1942

1. At the time of writing a new, annotated *Complete Collected Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid* — including poems written before the creation of the MacDiarmid persona in 1922 and other previously uncollected work — is forthcoming.

compiling the materials that would later be used to construct *In Memoriam James Joyce* and other works he published between 1943 and his death in 1978. However, after the publication of *Scots Unbound*, *Stony Limits* and *Second Hymn to Lenin* in 1932, 1934, and 1935 respectively, MacDiarmid published no new work until 1943. In that year, MacDiarmid's autobiography *Lucky Poet* included extracts from the Whalsay material, more of which was published in 1946 as *Poems of the East-West Synthesis* and in the 1947 collection *A Kist of Whistles*. MacDiarmid published no further new material until he published *In Memoriam* in 1955, twenty years after the publication of his previous new work of any considerable length, *Second Hymn to Lenin*. This was followed by the publication and republication of more of MacDiarmid's poetry: the reissuing (in one volume) of *Stony Limits and Scots Unbound, and Other Poems* (1956) and *Three Hymns to Lenin* (1957), and the publication of *The Battle Continues* (1957) and *The Kind of Poetry I Want* (1961). Moreover, this inconsistency led to a relative lack of availability of MacDiarmid's later work. No collected edition of MacDiarmid's poetry was available until Macmillan's *Collected Poems* in 1962. However, as Aitken explains in his 1992 *Bibliography*, while MacDiarmid had intended this collection to be not complete but certainly definitive — in the sense that it would contain everything that he felt was worthy of inclusion — only a portion of the original manuscript was used by his publisher (305). Indeed, MacDiarmid would go on to supplement the 1962 *Collected Poems* with three further volumes: *A Lap of Honour* (1967), *A Clyack-Sheaf* (1969), and *More Collected Poems* (1970). By 1970, then, around half of what would eventually be included in the *Complete Poems* had been collected:

Collection	Lines per page	Pages	"Total" lines ²	Proportion of lines in <i>Complete Poems</i>
<i>Collected</i>	40	477	19,080	34.7%
<i>Lap of Honour</i>	39	52	2,028	3.7%
<i>Clyack-Sheaf</i>	36	47	1,692	3.1%
<i>More Collected</i>	36	99	3,564	6.5%
SUBTOTAL	-	-	26,364	48.0%
<i>Complete</i>	38	1,446	54,948	100%

2. This is an approximation, and ignores line breaks, stanza breaks, blank pages, etc.

Taken together, the prefaces MacDiarmid published with the supplementary volumes suggest that *Clyack-Sheaf* and *More Collected Poems* included between them much or all of the material that Macmillan had excluded from the *Collected Poems*, whereas *Lap of Honour*, “save for a short out-of-context extract, from ‘On a Raised Beach’”, is made up of material that was not included in the manuscript MacDiarmid had prepared for Macmillan (11). MacDiarmid claims that he had “quite forgotten having written many of these poems”, and was only reminded of their existence by Duncan Glen (11). Moreover, MacDiarmid’s later work is not represented proportionately in the *Collected Poems*, whereas the less available collections such as *Clyack-Sheaf* and *More Collected Poems* — that is, the volumes that represent the material Macmillan excluded from the *Collected Poems* — are heavily biased *in favour* of MacDiarmid’s later work.³ This apparent bias towards MacDiarmid’s earlier work is in part a reflection of pre-existing critical biases, which I discuss in this literature review. But the lack of availability of MacDiarmid’s work prior to the *MacDiarmid 2000* project has led, at the very least, to these biases being amplified, and has contributed to the trend of a lack of critical engagement with MacDiarmid’s later work.

The critical reception of MacDiarmid from 1922 to the publication of In Memoriam James Joyce

Critics are in agreement that the first critical engagement with MacDiarmid’s work was Denis Saurat’s April 1924 essay “Le Groupe de ‘La Renaissance Écossaise’”, which appeared a year after the publication of MacDiarmid’s first book *Annals of the Five Senses* and two years after the first publication of his Scots lyrics “The Watergaw” and “The Blaward and the Skelly”. The response in this period to MacDiarmid’s work corroborates Michael Glenday’s assertion that Denis Saurat’s April 1924 essay “Le Groupe de ‘La Renaissance Écossaise’” was influential on subsequent critics. This

3. Working through the *Collected* and *Complete* chronologically and taking the material from the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” chapter of *Lucky Poet* as the first example of MacDiarmid’s later style, almost 60% of the *Complete Poems* comes after this point; however, only around 30% of the *Collected Poems* comes after this point. 44 of the 47 pages of *Clyack Sheaf* and 39 of 99 pages of *More Collected Poems* include MacDiarmid’s later work.

influence can be seen in three main ways. Firstly, Saurat characterises MacDiarmid as being part of what he terms “The Scottish Renaissance Group”, which he describes as being responsible for three publications: *The Scottish Nation*, “a campaigning weekly newspaper ... which is primarily political in its objectives, and in which literature has come to take up a significant place”; *The Scottish Chapbook*, “a monthly publication devoted exclusively to literature”; and *Northern Numbers*, “a yearly anthology of Scottish poetry” (1).⁴ Secondly, Saurat reserves his highest praise for the Scots lyrics. MacDiarmid’s first collection of Scots lyrics, *Sangschaw*, would not be published until the following year, so the work to which Saurat responds is limited to *Annals of the Five Senses* and the Scots lyrics that had been published individually. Saurat values MacDiarmid’s poetry far more highly than the experimental prose of *Annals*, which he describes as being “essentially a pedestal” for “A Moment in Eternity”, which is included in the same volume (8). While he values all of the Scots lyrics highly, Saurat deserves special praise for “A Moment in Eternity” which he contends “will take its place ... among the great mythic poems of English literature” (8). Thirdly, Saurat’s approach is focused on the languages that MacDiarmid uses to construct his poetry: that is, on MacDiarmid’s use of Scots. Having observed that the Scottish Renaissance Group thus far lacks a significant role for Gaelic, Saurat goes on to argue (in an echo of MacDiarmid’s own contemporary arguments) that “the case for the existence of a ‘dialect’ [i.e. Scots] is justified” by certain “effects” not being “available in the English tongue” (5). However, Saurat also observes that the “utopian weakness of a literature devoted exclusively to dialect expression has not escaped the attention” of the Group, which aims “to make a similar feature towards the universality of their expression” and recognises “the necessity of doing so in standard English” (7).

While Saurat was a significant influence on subsequent critics, there were few sustained critical engagements with MacDiarmid’s work between the publication of

4. Contrary to Glenday’s claim that Saurat “coined the term ‘Scottish Renaissance’” in this essay, it had in fact been used by MacDiarmid himself at least as early as February 1923, when it appeared in the editorial of that month’s issue of *The Scottish Chapbook*; however, this does seem to be the first use of the term “The Scottish Renaissance Group”.

“Le Groupe de ‘La Renaissance Écossaise’” and the start of the Second World War. George Kitchin’s 1924 *Scotsman* article, “The ‘Scottish Renaissance’ Group: What it Represents” is largely a response to the *Northern Numbers* collections and the way in which its contributors had apparently expressed “that we have subsisted too long on worship of the great writers of the 19th century ... and that it is time we were looking round for new ideas”; the third quarter of the article is effectively a promotion of Saurat’s essay (8). *Sangschaw* (1925) and *Penny Wheep* (1926) attracted a handful of reviews; *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) received a similar response, and sold fewer than 100 copies in its first year of publication. Robert Bain’s 1927 article provides an earlier example of what would become a recurring theme in the field, when he attempts to locate *Penny Wheep* in the broader historical context of Scottish Literature; an article Bain writes in 1933 is critical of the work MacDiarmid produces after *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*. Amongst the few other significant interventions in the field in this period, introductory surveys were provided by William Soutar and A. C. Frost in 1934, and by Ants Oras in 1935. All of this work is representative of trends that shaped MacDiarmid Studies all the way through to *In Memoriam*’s initial critical reception in the mid-1950s. At this point the field was still dominated by summary overviews, and there was also minimal discourse between critics.⁵ This led to a significant amount of repetition, and little sense of any meaningful development in terms of the approaches that were used to read MacDiarmid’s work. Critics also tended to consider work as primarily Scottish and, in turn, to focus on MacDiarmid’s use of Scots. As this approach is less obviously relevant to MacDiarmid’s later work, this focus inevitably affected the way in which that work was received.

Exceptions to these trends were presented by F. R. Leavis, Babette Deutsch, and, especially, Nan Shepherd. Leavis and Deutsch both located MacDiarmid in the context of what we would now term literary modernism, rather than focusing on his location within Scottish literature. Leavis’s 1935 *Scrutiny* review of *Second Hymn*

5. This was perhaps caused in part by the way in which MacDiarmid’s career was interrupted by both the Second World War and his own inconsistent publishing record from the mid-1930s onwards, two factors which may have created the need to perpetually reintroduce his work.

to *Lenin and Other Poems* identifies the influence of Lawrence and the later Yeats on *Second Hymn to Lenin*, whereas Deutsch places MacDiarmid's work (including *To Circumjack Cencrastus*) alongside that of Pound, Eliot, and MacLeish. In the 1938 essay "The Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid", Shepherd identifies MacDiarmid's work as an example of what we would now refer to as modernist language renewal. In so doing, she can be seen to be echoing the work of Leavis and Deutsch. Shepherd engages with MacDiarmid's use of a "private vocabulary, i.e., of words either newly coined, or drawn from sources so recondite, specialised and distant that the ordinary reader cannot hope to have met them" (50). Suggesting "the long opening paragraph of *On a Raised Beach*" as an example of the deployment of such a private vocabulary, Shepherd expands on the reasons behind and the implications of such an approach:

Private words are a revolt against conventional emotion. If in using them the poet repudiates all those overtones and undertones of suggestion and association on which poetic effect depends ... this is exactly his purpose, a gain and not a loss ... Let's have new words, therefore, to give our stark clean exact meaning, words not yet saturated with other people's meanings so that we have no guarantee at all that our readers will take our meaning from them ... Words not charged with accustomed emotions are therefore needful to the pioneer. No one denies them to the scientist — why then to the adventurer in new modes of experience ? (54-5)

Shepherd goes on to compare this approach to that of Wordsworth: presumably, the arguments regarding the purification and renewal of poetic language outlined in the *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads*. Shepherd's essay also contrasts with much of the other work produced in the field in this period in the way that it actively engages not only with MacDiarmid's work but also with its critical reception. Shepherd observes that the "fanatical nature of the responses" to MacDiarmid's work have led to the polarisation of the field, which in turn makes further evaluations of that work difficult. And she then goes on to contend that, while MacDiarmid's politics are not separable

from his poetry, his “political creed is hardly relevant” (51). For Shepherd, the focus should instead be placed on the unchanging vision that exists behind MacDiarmid’s various political positions:

MacDiarmid’s greatness is in lyric : lyric, however, that is not mere emotion but passionate thought. His progress from the brief lyrics of *Sangschaw* and *Penny Wheep*, through the long soliloquy of *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* and the gritty argumentative periods of *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, on to the immense bulk of the *Clann Albann* poem on which he is working in his Shetland retreat, need not obscure the issues. His lyric impulse changes, but the finest things in his work are still lyric in nature ; only instead of singing phrases there are thoughts of the sort that reverberate deeper and deeper in ones consciousness as one dwells with them (49)

As was the case with her consideration of MacDiarmid’s work as a project of language renewal, Shepherd differs from almost all earlier and many later critics in the way that she emphasises the continuities that she perceives to be present in MacDiarmid’s work. In this understanding, the transition from the Scots of the early lyrics through to the scientific English of *On a Raised Beach* and “the immense bulk of the *Clann Albann* poem” — that is, the material that would eventually be published, in part, as *In Memoriam James Joyce* — is less important than the way in which these contrasting approaches facilitate the creation of “stark clean exact meaning” at a time when a writer is responding to “new modes of experience” that are — as implied by the comparison Shepherd makes between writers and scientists — a consequence of scientific and technological modernity.

Shepherd’s side-stepping of the polarised discussion surrounding the relative value of different elements of MacDiarmid’s work facilitates her own use of close reading to focus on MacDiarmid’s use of language. In so doing, Shepherd is able to tease out various continuities in MacDiarmid’s output. As is the case with Deutsch’s approach, this leads in turn to a revision of the relative importance of MacDiarmid’s

various publications: rather than following the many critics who had discounted *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, Shepherd's approach enables her to engage with the poem both in isolation as a "gritty argumentative" work and also on a continuum that includes all of the work MacDiarmid had by then published. Yet following the publication of Shepherd's essay the majority of critics did not build on her approach. Indeed, apart from an introductory summary by James G. Southworth and a chapter in John Speirs' book *The Scots Literary Tradition* — and despite the publication of *Lucky Poet* in 1943 — little other secondary material was published in response to MacDiarmid's work until the middle of the 1940s. Indeed, in the years following the publication of *Lucky Poet* — which made work in MacDiarmid's late style widely available for the first time — critics would continue to focus on MacDiarmid's use of Scots and, consequently, on MacDiarmid's earliest work. This focus maintained the critical devaluation of *To Circumjack Cencrastus* and much of the work that came after it. This can be seen in R. Crombie Saunders' 1945 essay "The Thistle in the Lion's Mouth", the first critical engagement with MacDiarmid's work since the publication in 1943 of *Lucky Poet* (apart from Hugh l'Anson Fausset's short *TLS* review of the text). A few relatively short responses to MacDiarmid's work (by, amongst others, Compton Mackenzie, Douglas Young, James B. Caird, and Alexander Scott) appeared in the second half of the 1940s, but many of these constituted passing references in publications that were otherwise not directly concerned with MacDiarmid. While David Daiches's 1948 article "Hugh MacDiarmid and Scottish Poetry" provides another introductory survey, it is notable for being the first of these to respond to the work in the late citational style that MacDiarmid had included in *Lucky Poet*. However, as had been the case with the majority of previous critics, Daiches does not provide a detailed analysis of MacDiarmid's work post-*Cencrastus*.

In 1949 Mary Baird Aitken provided another review of MacDiarmid's career to date. However, Baird Aitken's article stands out from other reviews for two reasons. Firstly, it teases out the continuities that can be detected in MacDiarmid's work, so

that it is closer to Shepherd's approach than it is to the more common understanding which emphasises the differences between MacDiarmid's work in Scots and his work in English. Secondly, Baird Aitken also engages with a poem of MacDiarmid's that she refers to by the title *In Memoriam James Joyce*. This version of *In Memoriam* clearly differs from the version that would eventually be published in 1955: Baird Aitken refers to "Plaited Like the Generations of Men" as "the Seventh Section" of *In Memoriam*, when it would go on to appear as the sixth section of the 1955 edition; and, of the three long quotations Baird Aitken takes from the version of *In Memoriam* she has access to, two are different from the corresponding quotations that appear in the published text — one is missing a line, the other is subjected to more extensive redrafting — while the third does not seem to be included in the published text or, indeed, anywhere in the *Complete Poems*.⁶ However, Baird Aitken is clearly responding to a text that was very closely related to the version of *In Memoriam* that was published in 1955.⁷ As I will outline, many critics viewed *In Memoriam* unfavourably immediately following its publication, or disregarded the text entirely. By contrast, Baird Aitken finds precedents for *In Memoriam* — "an epic poem" composed out of a "mixture of science, politics, visions, this technical language ... and the language of vision" — in the work of Lucretius and Emerson and, to an extent, D. H. Lawrence (14).

Two or three articles were published annually in the field in the years immediately preceding the publication of *In Memoriam* in 1955. Most of these contributions

6. It is possible, of course, that Baird Aitken was mistaken, or that she had counted the "Author's Note" or the epigraphs as the first section of the poem; however, it perhaps seems more likely that she was dealing with a different version of the text from that which was eventually published. It seems likely, moreover, that the "Author's Note" that prefaces *In Memoriam* was written relatively soon before the publication of the poem; i.e., well after Baird Aitken had read some or other version of *In Memoriam*. Page 14 of the "Author's Note" includes a quotation from a lecture that, according to a footnote on the same page, was delivered in 1949; page 17 refers to Marius Bewley's *The Complex Fate*, which was first published only in 1952; and page 18 mentions "a recent Third Programme talk on 'New Territory for the Critic'" delivered by John Holloway, which, according to the *Radio Times*, was broadcast in April 1954.

7. In Chapter Two I describe how *In Memoriam* can be thought of as one product of what I describe as the *Cornish Heroic Song/Mature Art* urtext. This urtext was the massive, unpublished work that MacDiarmid was working on from the early 1930s and from which he published new work throughout the rest of this career. Both the published version of *In Memoriam* and the version Baird Aitken is working from here would have been taken from this urtext.

displayed the tendencies that had shaped the majority of earlier criticism, such as providing summary overviews of MacDiarmid's career to date, and focusing on MacDiarmid's early work at the expense of a sustained consideration of the later work.⁸ When MacDiarmid's later work was considered it often confused critics; for example, in 1955 Charles Glicksburg asks of an excerpt from *Lucky Poet*, "[b]y what process of semantic perversion can this be regarded as poetry?" (333). Two exceptions to this trend were published in 1952: Edwin Morgan's "Dunbar and the Language of Poetry", which is considered later in this chapter alongside Morgan's other contributions to the field, and Arthur Leslie's *The Politics and Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid*, which was in fact written by MacDiarmid himself and published pseudonymously. In general, however, the trends that were established by Saurat in 1924 continued to shape the field thirty years later. An exception to these trends can be identified in the work of Leavis, Deutsch, Shepherd, and Baird Aitken. Shepherd, especially, provides an approach that is suggestive of ways in which critical engagements with MacDiarmid's work might move beyond the limitations inherent in the rest of the field. Firstly, Shepherd frames her entire engagement within the context of the lack of inter-critical discourse surrounding MacDiarmid's work and is therefore able to reflect on the polarised nature of these contributions, and to avoid such polarisation in her own work. Secondly, in contrast to the repeated location of MacDiarmid's work within the context of specifically Scottish literature — either as part of an historical continuum or as an example of geographically localised literature of the period — Shepherd thinks of MacDiarmid's work in a way that prefigures some of the approaches that would be developed by modernist studies. Thinking of MacDiarmid's work in this way also allows Shepherd to sidestep his use of Scots, and therefore to engage more fully with MacDiarmid's later work. Finally, Shepherd's broad definition of the term "lyric" — it is an "impulse" that is the originary point for "singing phrases", as well as "gritty argumentative periods" and "thoughts" that "reverberate deeper and

8. See, for example, articles published by Graham Lawrence and Alastair Thomson in 1950, by Jiri Levy and Sydney Goodsir Smith in 1951, and by Charles Glicksburg in 1955.

deeper in ones consciousness” — allows her to emphasise the continuities that are present in MacDiarmid’s output in that period. This is in contrast to the way in which other critics have couched a perceived disruption in MacDiarmid’s career in similar terms. David Daiches, for example, contrasts MacDiarmid’s “lyrical poetry written in Scots” with his later “non-lyrical poetry”, which is deemed inferior and consequently disregarded (Hugh 205).

The initial critical reception of In Memoriam James Joyce

The way in which *In Memoriam* was received by critics immediately following its publication can be divided into two parts. Critics such as David Craig, W. S. Merwin, and G. S. Fraser continued the trends that had developed in MacDiarmid Studies in the previous three decades, often framing their understanding of *In Memoriam* within a New Critical paradigm and going on to look for some kind of organising principle or unity in the text. When this unity is not found, the text is devalued and subject to little direct engagement. Craig’s essay “Hugh MacDiarmid’s Poetry” contextualises “MacDiarmid’s latest poetry” — that is, *In Memoriam* — as being “of the kind which first appeared in ch. 3 of his autobiography” — that is, the section titled “The Kind of Poetry I Want” — and goes on to frame it as the most recent expression of a poetic tendency that had been present to a greater or less extent “in a *Kist of Whistles* (1947), in the experimenting of *Scots Unbound* (1932), even as early as [MacDiarmid’s] second long poem, *To Circumjack Cencrastus* (1930)” (6). While Craig therefore identifies continuities in MacDiarmid’s work from *Cencrastus* onwards, he implies the existence of a watershed immediately preceding that text — that is, at the moment MacDiarmid began to move away from writing in Scots. Any favourable valuations Craig assigns to MacDiarmid’s work are generally limited to the earlier, shorter Scots poetry such as “The Eemis Stane” and “The Back O’ Beyond”, which opens *Scots Unbound* (12-13). Conversely, Craig emphasises the specific “weakness which runs through [MacDiarmid’s] later poetry: enormous generalisations which seem ...

imposed, prematurely, on ... a shallow understanding of the material” and the “propagandist theses brought in and insisted on before anything general which could be convincingly written about has really matured”, all of which leads to “clumsy writing” characterised by “uncertain general ideas approximately hit off by cliché metaphors” (6).

W. S. Merwin strikes a similar tone in “Without the Reality of Music”. Referring to both the work of MacDiarmid’s that appeared in the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” section of *Lucky Poet* and also to *In Memoriam*, Merwin initially seems to move beyond some of the more limiting aspects of the debate surrounding this work. He is dismissive of the debate that has taken place as to “whether or not his later work ... is poetry at all”, characterising it as the “old squabbles about what divides poetry from prose, about meter, rhythm, diction, etc”, and contending that his own definition of poetry “is not concerned with the usual features of poetry any more than Mr. MacDiarmid is” (50). However, having claimed to move beyond one set of ideological positions, he introduces another — the New Critical assumption that a poem functions as a self-contained, unified object — in the way that he argues that “it is the music of any unity whatever that I miss in this work, and it is the lack of that music that prevents it from being, at least to my recognition, a poem, poetry, or any kind of artifact at all” (50). Fraser’s *TLS* review of *In Memoriam* reflects Merwin’s approach: Fraser describes the text as “a rambling, sprawling, discursive work, with about as much external formal unity as a battered and capacious Gladstone bag”, describing how the text has “baffled many of its English critics” and how its “lines are neither strictly metrical nor ... notable either for rhythmical sweep or for a kind of hanging poise”, and going on to contend that “[m]uch of it ... is not what most people mean by poetry” (586).

These responses by Craig, Merwin, and Fraser are representative of the way in which much of the initial critical reception of *In Memoriam* maintained the tendencies that had been established in the first three decades of critical engagements

with MacDiarmid's work. However, critics such as David Daiches, Hugh Gordon Porteus, and Sydney Goodsir Smith moved beyond this paradigm. While these critics acknowledge that readers may find *In Memoriam* strange or confusing, they do not see this as sufficient cause to disregard it. Instead, they locate the text alongside the work of a range of modernist writers. In so doing, these critics can be seen to build on the work of, most importantly, Shepherd, and also of Leavis, Deutsch, and Baird Aitken. However, the direct engagements each of these critics were able to sustain with *In Memoriam* were limited in each case by the time they were required to spend justifying and explicating the text's methods, and on pre-empting potential objections from readers. Daiches engages with this necessity by presenting his article as a sort of catechism. "MacDiarmid's New Poem" lists questions that a reader might have about *In Memoriam*, such as "What sort of a poem is this?", and "What is it about?" (22). Answering these questions, Daiches describes the text as being

in English, with an enormous number of quotations from and references to other languages and literatures ... [i]t is built of verse paragraphs of varying length ... the rhythms are those of conversation, but the rise and fall of the sound and the carefully controlled shifts in *tempo* provide enough underlying formal pattern to prevent the poem from disintegrating into mere discursiveness. (22)

And about "the essential kinship of everything in the world that is fully realised and properly possessed of its identity" (22). The questions Daiches asks then become increasingly loaded: "[a] queer theme for a poem, surely?", "But what about all the dragging in of foreign words? The long lists of titles of books in a dozen foreign languages, the pedantic footnotes, and all that sort of think [sic]? Doesn't this become tedious and silly after a while?", or "Don't these long catalogues of foreign names and phrases in fact merely irritate?" (22; 22; 24; 25). Daiches' implied recognition of the way in which *In Memoriam* might be perceived as strange or new demonstrates an understanding of the way in which readers might respond negatively to the text.

However, Daiches uses this as an opportunity to champion *In Memoriam*, contending that “[n]o theme is ‘queer’ for poetry: a poet’s subject is what he makes of it in his writing” and locating *In Memoriam*’s specific theme within the work of Walt Whitman, James Joyce, and, to some extent, Gerard Manley Hopkins (22-23). Daiches also argues that MacDiarmid’s use of cataloguing and quotation does not “affect the quality of the poem”, with their effectiveness dependent “on how they are read” (22, 25).

Porteus approaches *In Memoriam* in a similar way, acknowledging the perceived strangeness of the text but then going on to note that he read it “without a moment of boredom” and to praise MacDiarmid’s willingness to work outwith the “formal strictness” that was then “the admired mode of many of the younger poets” (“Paging” 35). Addressing the issue of whether *In Memoriam* can be considered to be “verse” or not, Porteus is unequivocal: “[o]f course it is” (“Paging” 35). As evidence, he cites T. S. Eliot’s argument that the “single and constant difference between prose and verse ... lies in the typographical arrangement” (“Paging” 39). However, having acknowledged the perceived strangeness of *In Memoriam*, he spends little time on the subject and instead engages directly with the poem itself, going on to summarise that sections of it demonstrate the continuing “health and vitality of MacDiarmid’s lyric gift”, one of “several kinds of defective excellence to be discovered in the book” (“Paging” 39). Sydney Goodsir Smith also acknowledges that *In Memoriam* might subvert readers’ expectations, but quickly moves on to focus on the way in which *In Memoriam* “relies largely on a mass of quoted material” (“Last” 62). Goodsir Smith frames this observation in the context of what he refers to as “the other mammoth fragments that have preceded it” in MacDiarmid’s career. This allows him both to trace out continuities in MacDiarmid’s output, and also to locate *In Memoriam*’s use of citation in the context of literary modernism. Goodsir Smith views the text within the context of MacDiarmid’s other work from *Cencrastus* onwards, especially “other tentative experiments” such as “Depth and the Cthonian Image”, “Lament for the Great Music”, and what he terms the “omnipolilogues” of the “The Kind of Poetry I

Want” section of *Lucky Poet* (“Last” 62). He goes on to point out that “the method of multiple quotation has been used by other great poets of our time, by Eliot and Pound”, but that “MacDiarmid takes this method a good many steps further”, developing the method into “a conscious and quite frank poetic or artistic device, a form of association-stimulus taken far beyond the everyday equivalent of the man who quotes a proverb to bolster up an argument” (“Last” 65).

The initial critical reception of *In Memoriam* can therefore be divided into two parts, both of which can be seen to continue separate trends that were developed in the first three decades of critical engagements with MacDiarmid’s work. On the one hand critics such as Craig, Merwin, and Fraser restated a number of long established critical tropes, including the application of New Critical approaches that lead to a misrecognition of *In Memoriam*. But on the other, critics such as Daiches, Porteus and Goodsir Smith demonstrated how significant reflection is required in order to establish precisely how *In Memoriam* should be conceptualised, and how the approach developed by Shepherd (as well as, to a lesser extent, Leavis, Deutsch, and Baird Aitken) might suggest fruitful reading strategies.

Edwin Morgan’s response to In Memoriam James Joyce

While the early engagements with *In Memoriam* made by Daiches, Porteus, and Goodsir Smith were helpful contributions to the field, none of these critics undertook a sustained engagement with MacDiarmid’s later work. In the period extending from the publication of *In Memoriam* through to the early 1980s the most significant exception to this lack of sustained engagement is found in the work of Edwin Morgan. Between 1952 and 1982 Morgan responds to MacDiarmid’s later work in a series of eleven articles and one book. Morgan’s response moves beyond many of the tropes that had been present in much of the earlier criticism of MacDiarmid’s work and which caused critics to disregard or devalue *In Memoriam*. In so doing, Morgan can be seen to follow the work of Leavis, Deutsch, and Baird Aitken. But he can be seen

especially to follow Shepherd's 1938 engagement with MacDiarmid. As Shepherd had done with respect to MacDiarmid's work of the 1930s and earlier, Morgan frames his response to *In Memoriam* by first engaging with other critics' polarised responses to the text. In his review of *In Memoriam*, "Jujitsu for the Educated" (1956), Morgan stresses how the text has had "a very mixed reception from the reviewers, ranging from excited praise to utter dismissal", and is clear about the challenges that any reader of the text might face (223). In "MacDiarmid at 75" (1967), Morgan challenges the idea that "MacDiarmid has only written six good poems, all very short and all written before 1926", and sets out to "stake out claims for the later work" which he describes as "long and discursive" and "in free verse", as opposed to the "concentrated and laconic" earlier work's use of "regular metrical forms" (176). His response to *In Memoriam* and MacDiarmid's other late work often locates that work within the context of MacDiarmid's overall poetic output, and can be divided into three interrelated preoccupations: the continuities that Morgan identifies in MacDiarmid's work, in contrast to those critics who consider the later work to be somehow separate from the earlier work; the way in which MacDiarmid's later work develops a sense of internal unity and organisation; and how this internal unity and organisation draws on a generalist approach that attempts to bring together science and the arts. Morgan's analysis of these aspects of MacDiarmid's work leads him to argue that it might be read as a sort of generalist, modernist collage that involves the bringing together of multiple treated texts.

Morgan echoes Shepherd in the way that he emphasises the continuities that can be detected in MacDiarmid's work, beginning with *Annals of the Five Senses* and running through the Scots lyrics and on to the later work, including *In Memoriam*. In his first explicit engagement with MacDiarmid's work, "Modern Makars: Scots and English" (1954) Morgan disentangles MacDiarmid's poetry from his political positioning, as Shepherd had done before. He then reframes the types of continuities a reader might expect in MacDiarmid's work when he contends that "the problem of

development, the steady growth and maturing of character and of style, is the central dilemma of the Scottish poet” (79). For Morgan, the “Scottish Renaissance” should not be thought of as a monolingual movement that needs to debate whether English or Scots or Gaelic offers the best linguistic approach, but instead as an intrinsically trilingual project that is itself “part of a wider 20th-century movement” (80). In a prefiguration of Robert Crawford’s work in *Devolving English Literature* (1992), Morgan describes this movement as a “Peripheral Renaissance of English poetry: the attempted revitalisation of an enfeebled English tradition by poets breaking into it from its boundaries” (80). Morgan frames this as a specifically modernist project, carried out by, amongst others, Yeats, Pound, and Dylan Thomas (80).

Morgan observes that while MacDiarmid “encourage[s] others to use Scots” he himself “writes mostly in English, especially since 1930, and especially when he seems to have anything really serious or important to say, as in the long extracts we have seen from *The Kind of Poetry I Want* or *Cornish Heroic Song* or *In Memoriam James Joyce*” (78).⁹ However, Morgan then describes the continuities that can be identified in MacDiarmid’s work, in a way that integrates and explains the apparent breaks in MacDiarmid’s output. While Morgan expresses his regret that MacDiarmid “stopped his remarkable exploration of the Scottish language ... in 1932”, he contends that MacDiarmid was “justified as a poet, attempting an entirely new kind of poetry, when he turned to English”. Morgan argues that the “new poetry of fact and science begins to loom up” in 1934, with *Stony Limits*. Indeed, in “MacDiarmid at 75” Morgan identifies so many traces of MacDiarmid’s later work in *Annals* he speculates that “one might think it was *Sangschaw* which provided the interruption” in MacDiarmid’s career: *Annals* has “the omnivorous and encyclopaedic quality of the later MacDiarmid” and “the same interweaving of quotations and references” that is found in that

9. None of these texts had been published at this point. Morgan is likely referring here to the material that appeared in the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” section of *Lucky Poet* or to the poem with that title that appeared in *Kist of Whistles* in 1947, and to the version of “Cornish Heroic Song” that appeared in the same volume. It is not completely clear which version of *In Memoriam James Joyce* he is referring to, but in “Jujitsu for the Educated” Morgan refers to the fact that parts of the text had already appeared in *Voice of Scotland*.

work (176). Moreover, Morgan contends that focusing on MacDiarmid's insistence "on the importance of the multiplex" and his resistance to "simplistic solutions" — drives that lead to the "aleatory" nature of both his "mosaic or anti-organicist methods of composition" and his "fondness for dictionaries and word-lists" — may lead to a unified understanding of MacDiarmid's work (176-7).

In addition to this, in contrast to those critics who have discounted *In Memoriam* on the grounds of its apparent lack of unity, Morgan describes how *In Memoriam*'s organisation is "so loose that one seldom feels the placing of any particular passage is really inevitable; parts could be shifted about, added, or dropped, without any appreciable loss of effect", so that it gives the impression of being "an extended improvisation reminiscent of jazz ... a curious anti-organized, 'endless' winding-out of themes as in jazz, or pibroch — or *Finnegans Wake*" (225). Morgan's apparent critiques of New Critical approaches are made explicit in "MacDiarmid Embattled" (1959), in which Morgan analyses MacDiarmid's 1957 poem *The Battle Continues*. There, Morgan notes the limits of a New Critical approach, observing that "[e]very branch of the New Criticism has found it hard to say anything profitable about such poets as Chaucer, Burns, Byron, Whitman, and even Wordsworth, where the human content is so inescapable and the formal interest is so soon exhausted" (17). In contrast to critics who have adopted approaches that draw heavily on the New Criticism, Morgan places MacDiarmid's work alongside that of D. J. Enright, Apollinaire, Brecht, and Christopher Logue, describing it as a sort of "anti-poetry": but only in "the dialectical sense that it opposes one conception of poetry which it believes to be unequal to a task history is more and more clearly placing before it" (18). He contends, moreover, that the emergence of different approaches to poetry may lead to "some change of emphasis in discussions of the contemporary literary scene", which could itself lead to MacDiarmid's later work being better received (17-18).

Morgan predicts that if this poetry "can shoulder the burden of this task", it will become "the 'poetry' of the next epoch" in much the same way as did the *Lyrical*

Ballads (18). Morgan continues to develop this idea throughout the rest of his career, characterising MacDiarmid's later poetry as an attempt to develop a generalist poetics that brings together art and science. In "Poetry and Knowledge in MacDiarmid's Later Work" (1972), Morgan revisits his consideration of MacDiarmid's later poetry in the context of Wordsworth's work; specifically, Wordsworth's arguments in the *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* regarding the relationship between poetry and science. Morgan understands the *Preface* to be suggesting that poetry should both accept the "facts and attitudes which science may unavoidably set within man's future environment" and also help "to further the process of assimilation" of scientific ideas within society (129). For Morgan, a "good deal of MacDiarmid's poetry" from *Stony Limits* onwards — *In Memoriam* and *The Kind of Poetry I Want* are mentioned specifically — "has been a practical exploration of both aspects of Wordsworth's ideal" (130). He understands *In Memoriam*, specifically, to be "concerned with the fragmentation of human cultures and the desirability of bringing together ... the knowledge, achievement, and beauty left isolated and sterile in unfamiliar languages and literatures"; MacDiarmid's attempts to write a relatable poetry of fact engender the frequent use of sometimes unexpected analogies, and these analogies are, more specifically, intended as examples "of such a poetry in its early stages of development" (131-4). Morgan's approach to MacDiarmid's later work leads him to develop a further understanding of the way it might be organised: for Morgan, it is "a poetry which is highly organised in parts, but not prescriptively with regards to the whole"; this poetry is "not so much an organism as a colony, a living and in one sense formless association of organisms which share a common experience" (139). Morgan retains this view of MacDiarmid's later work — and *In Memoriam* in particular — as an experiment in generalist poetics into the mid-2000s. In "Poetry and Virtual Realities", Morgan considers MacDiarmid alongside Lucretius, Dante, Milton, Goethe, Shelley, Leopardi, Omar Khayyàm, and Virgil, as an example of one of the "[l]inks between poetry and science" that are, for Morgan, "far from being rare and strange ... actually quite hard to avoid", and goes on to mention

John Davidson, who “trained as a chemist”, as a specific influence on MacDiarmid, who Morgan presents as “a strong believer in the unity of knowledge” who “refused to accept a split between the arts and the sciences” (27; 30; 32). In that article, Morgan describes how *In Memoriam* revealed “the full scope of [MacDiarmid’s] poetry of fact and science”, and goes on to connect this to the massive volume of knowledge and information generated as a consequence of modernity: “that no single mind in the twentieth century could have a grasp of the sum of knowledge as Lucretius and Leonardo da Vinci have had in their times” (36).

In three further articles — “Dunbar and the Language of Poetry” (1952), “MacDiarmid and Scotland” (1980), and “MacDiarmid’s Later Poetry Against an International Background” (1978) — Morgan suggests contexts within which MacDiarmid’s later work might be read. “Dunbar and the Language of Poetry” is part of the thread in Morgan’s output that includes his consideration of the different languages that are available to writers in Scotland. In that essay, Morgan hints at his openness to some of *In Memoriam*’s poetic techniques. Referring to “The Cursing of Sir John Rowll”, a poem that dates possibly from the late fifteenth century, Morgan describes how it represents “a notable Scottish characteristic of the period — wild, flamboyant, ludicrous, and ‘fouthy’ [abundant] with words” and goes on to draw a comparison between “the kind of gusto which blows through it, and the cataloguing and word-linkages that its gusto takes, with similar outbursts in Rabelais, Skelton, Urquhart, or James Joyce” (141). Later in the same article, Morgan refers to Dunbar’s deployment of the “[m]acaronic intermingling of English and Latin” that had developed from the time of Old English, through Middle English, to be “extended greatly” towards the end of this period, including “often admitting French as a third language” (150). In “MacDiarmid in Scotland”, Morgan frames MacDiarmid’s work within the context of MacDiarmid’s views on contemporary Scotland: but Morgan emphasizes that MacDiarmid is always arguing from an internationalist viewpoint, where Scotland is understood as part of the wider world (201). And in “MacDiarmid’s Later Poetry

against an International Background” Morgan develops both of these views in order to explore the possibility of understanding MacDiarmid as a primarily modernist writer. There, Morgan considers the way in which poets such as Pound and William Carlos Williams have “incorporated large amounts of non-poetic material into their verse ... prose taken from books, magazines, newspapers, letters, indeed any documentary source that the poet wants to use” (20). Moreover, for Morgan this idea of a “text outside the text, a sort of dark doppelgänger which haunts the text and should be seen to haunt it” is, moreover, not specific to the work of Pound and a select few other writers; instead, “collage” is a pervasive and specific aspect of writing in the twentieth century (20-21). Morgan understands the *mode* of twentieth century collage to be specific, too, when compared with earlier examples of the phenomenon: unlike their historical forerunners, modern writers will practise a “multiplex, far-ranging, and often ironical juxtaposition or original and non-original matter” so that “it is often difficult to know whether the context that he uses or quotes from is itself important” (21). Morgan distinguishes between MacDiarmid’s use of “informational” collage and the alternative “cultural” incorporations of texts when he contends that

in modern writers the allusions and quotations will usually and deliberately *not* be an expected part of general culture; often they will be deliberately informational rather than cultural, with the aim of winking the reader out of an accepted tradition, mainly the classical/biblical/romantic, and forcing him to take stock of another tradition (either existing or potential), or of the idea of the healthy absence of any tradition (21).

In the case of MacDiarmid’s use of collage, “the things accumulated are not primarily cultural, they are part of the general informational background of the time”, and carrying with them “a strong sense of the informational bombardment of the twentieth century, and the feeling that somehow someone should be attempting to bring some of this material into poetry” (23). Morgan then builds on the argument he had

made in “MacDiarmid at 75” regarding the possibility of identifying the continuities in MacDiarmid’s career by concentrating initially on *Annals of the Five Senses* rather than the early Scots lyrics or *Drunk Man*. He suggests that understanding MacDiarmid to be a practitioner of informational collage provides a background “against which Hugh MacDiarmid may be set if we want to build up a whole picture of his work” (25). Morgan suggests that this might start with thinking of MacDiarmid’s later work as being “not so much found poetry as a series of treated texts”: that is, “almost always when material is taken over ... it is altered, ‘treated’, both through line division and through little omissions and additions, and sometimes through rearrangement of component parts” (26).

In “MacDiarmid’s Later Poetry Against an International Background” Morgan goes on to interconnect this idea of collage with many of the ideas he had developed during his earlier critical engagement with MacDiarmid’s work. He echoes his engagement with MacDiarmid’s generalism in “MacDiarmid Embattled” and “Poetry and Knowledge in MacDiarmid’s Later Work” when he contends that MacDiarmid’s collage technique is at least in part an example of “art/science collage, a collage in idea rather than in technique” that was commonplace with writers in “the late 1920s to the early 1940s” (32). Morgan’s understanding of MacDiarmid’s use of collage also facilitates his description of the continuities he identifies in MacDiarmid’s career, which he outlines most thoroughly in his 1976 *Writers and their Work* pamphlet on MacDiarmid. By Morgan’s reading, MacDiarmid’s use of collage adopts a generalist approach that attempts to integrate art and science. In the way that it incorporates source texts into MacDiarmid’s work it leans away from cultural citation and towards an informational approach. Finally, Morgan suggests how an understanding of MacDiarmid’s use of collage might be undertaken through an engagement with the specific “treatments” to which it subjects its source materials. In his multiple engagements with MacDiarmid’s work, Morgan critiques the way in which other critics have often relied on a range of New Critical approaches, and demonstrates how these

approaches can lead to a devaluation of MacDiarmid's later work and to the inference that a break occurs in MacDiarmid's development at some point in the early 1930s.

1955 to 1978: from the publication of *In Memoriam* to the publication of the *Complete Poems*

In the period between the initial critical reception of *In Memoriam* and the first publication of MacDiarmid's *Complete Poems* the patterns and tendencies that had defined MacDiarmid studies outwith the interventions by Morgan (and Shepherd; and, to a lesser extent, Leavis and Deutsch) continued to dominate. There was little dialogue between critics, which hampered the development of the field; and critics who engaged with MacDiarmid continued to focus on his earlier work and to rely on approaches that were biographical or that attempted to understand MacDiarmid's poetry as an expression of his political positions, or to deploy broadly New Critical approaches. Overall, critical responses were relatively infrequent, with little being published in the field until 1962.¹⁰ In that year, MacDiarmid's seventieth birthday prompted the publication of the *Festschrift* edited by K. D. Duval and Sydney Goodsir Smith. This was followed, in 1964, by the publication of two book-length studies of MacDiarmid's work: Duncan Glen's *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Scottish Renaissance* and Kenneth Buthlay's *Hugh MacDiarmid (Christopher Murray Grieve)*. Otherwise, in this period contributions to the field were largely confined to special editions of journals: the 1967-8 "Hugh MacDiarmid and Scottish Poetry" double issue of *Agenda*; the 1970 "Special Hugh MacDiarmid Issue" of *Akros*; and a further special issue of *Akros*

10. Donald Davie includes a passing mention of *In Memoriam* in a 1957 article, and in the same year G. S. Fraser followed up his *TLS* review of *In Memoriam* with "The Writer and the Cause", an essay comparing the issue of literary commitment in England with that in Scotland (500). 1957 also saw the publication of Burns Singer's 1957 article "Scarlet Eminence", a third of which is dedicated to MacDiarmid's work from *Cencrastus* onwards and "the beginning of a trend back to English" that would lead through *Stony Limits* and on to work such as *In Memoriam* (60). In so doing, Singer joins earlier critics who had emphasised the continuities in MacDiarmid's work; in this context, for Singer, "*Stony Limits* is the transitional book" to "a new kind of poetry" that is worthy of critical engagement (60, 62). Little else was published in the field in the last years of the 1950s, and while 1961 saw the publication of the single-volume edition of *The Kind of Poetry I Want*, the only critical response to MacDiarmid's work that year was John Summers' laudatory introduction to MacDiarmid's work which retained a focus on the early Scots poetry.

published in 1977. However, trends continued to develop — especially in the second half of this period, which was shaped in part by the emergence of *Akros* — that were suggestive of new approaches to MacDiarmid's work. The most important of these was the development of the tension between New Critical approaches and other frameworks within which MacDiarmid's later work might be read, which was first discussed by Morgan in his 1959 article "MacDiarmid Embattled".

While MacDiarmid claimed that the *Festschrift* represented "the real breakthrough" in critical appreciation of his work — a claim endorsed by W. R. Aitken — many of its sixteen chapters retain the emphasis placed by earlier criticism on biographical or political approaches, and on readings of MacDiarmid's earlier work. These include contributions by Helen Cruickshank, Maurice Lindsay, A. T. Cunninghame, Douglas Young, Sidney Goodsir Smith, and David Craig. Lindsay does make a limited engagement with MacDiarmid's later work when he refers to the specific "power and uniqueness" of the use of quotation in *Lucky Poet* and identifying the experience of Charles Doughty and John Davidson on this output (203, 205). Young traces the evolution of nationalist threads in MacDiarmid's life and thought, but manages to separate these aspects of MacDiarmid's career from his poetry and therefore avoids many of the pitfalls associated with this approach. Conversely, Goodsir Smith and Craig attempt to engage with MacDiarmid's poetry via his political thought; the tightly-coupled approaches of both critics result in the disregarding or devaluation of MacDiarmid's later work.

While the remaining contributors to the *Festschrift* maintain a greater focus on MacDiarmid's poetry, there is little consideration of anything published much after *Stony Limits and Other Poems* and *Second Hymn to Lenin* in the mid-1930s. When MacDiarmid's later work is considered in any depth, critics often focus on *A Glass of Pure Water*, a poem of around 100 lines that has stylistic similarities to *In Memoriam* and which was collected for the first time in the *Collected Poems* of 1962. There are, however, three chapters of the *Festschrift* that engage with MacDiarmid's later work

— and, specifically, *In Memoriam* — in more depth. The first of these is Morgan’s “Poetry and Knowledge in MacDiarmid’s Later Work”, which was discussed in the previous section of this chapter. The other engagements with MacDiarmid’s later work are provided by Ronald Stevenson and Walter Keir, both of whom can be seen to follow different aspects of Morgan’s general approach to MacDiarmid. Stevenson examines the role music plays in *In Memoriam*, arguing — in an echo of Morgan’s “Jujitsu for the Educated” — that *Finnegans Wake* is an example of a “Joycean music-aesthetic” that can also be detected in *In Memoriam* and in the work of the composer Ferruccio Busoni (141). He goes on to contend that “any melodies may be combined if one only discovered the place at which to begin the counterpoint and the fitting rhythmic and harmonic proportions”, thereby suggesting an approach to *In Memoriam* that reframes MacDiarmid’s use of collage and, through so doing, suggests new continuities in MacDiarmid’s poetry. Similarly, Keir attempts to integrate MacDiarmid’s later work with his earlier work in Scots, arguing that the later work demonstrates an “extension of range” that is present in the transition from the early Scots lyrics to longer work such as *Drunk Man* and *Cencrastus* (16). For Keir, while the later work is in many senses radically new, it can also be seen to be a continuation of the earlier work that attempts “to relate Scotland, and us, not only to geology, and to history, science, evolution, religion, politics, philosophy, psychology, world literature and world language”, as well as “the other -isms and -ologies of our time” (17).

Aside from the contributions by Stevenson and Keir the *Festschrift* can therefore be seen not to challenge many of the tendencies that had shaped MacDiarmid studies for almost forty years. However, its publication (along with the roughly contemporary publication of the *Collected Poems* and its supplementary volumes) also represents something of a watershed in the field, with subsequent years witnessing a significant uptick in the number of critical engagements with MacDiarmid’s work. This higher rate of publication continued through to MacDiarmid’s death — and the first publication of the *Complete Poems* — in 1978. In 1964 Glen and Buthlay

contributed book length studies; in the same year Glen also published *The Literary Masks of Hugh MacDiarmid*, a useful essay that describes the literary personae MacDiarmid had deployed. Both books focus on MacDiarmid's earlier work, with Glen using a biographical approach. However, Buthlay's book provides one of the earliest sustained examples of metacritical dialogue in the field. Also, while Buthlay continues the tendency of earlier criticism not to engage with MacDiarmid's later work, he is not actively hostile to that work in the way that some earlier critics are. Instead, Buthlay attempts to highlight the continuities that can be identified as running through MacDiarmid's entire career, and undertakes one of the first considerations of the composition and publication history of *In Memoriam*. He also echoes Morgan's comments regarding the way in which critics had approached MacDiarmid's later work when he concedes that the "reading of the poem itself involves an adjustment which I confess I do not find it easy to make" (122).

In 1967-8 the "Hugh MacDiarmid and Scottish Poetry" special double issue of *Agenda* indicates the beginning of a shift of critical focus towards MacDiarmid's later work. For example, Tom Scott and John Montague consider middle period works that connect *Cencrastus* to later work such as *In Memoriam*, including "Lament for the Great Music", "Island Funeral", and "Direadh". However, outwith the *Agenda* double issue only a handful of responses to MacDiarmid's work were published in the latter part of the 1960s. Of these, W. A. S. Keir's review of Glen's 1966 book is perhaps the most notable, especially in the way in which it interrogates the term "Scottish Renaissance" and considers both *In Memoriam* and *Cencrastus*. The shift that was present in the 1967-8 *Agenda* double issue is continued in the 1970 "Special Hugh MacDiarmid Issue" of *Akros*, which includes interviews MacDiarmid gave to George Bruce and Duncan Glen. The short interview conducted by Bruce follows the *Festschrift* in the way that it focuses on MacDiarmid's views regarding "A Glass of Pure Water". But in his interview with Glen, MacDiarmid echoes aspects of Morgan's approach in the way that he focuses on his later poetry and its relation to the contexts from which

it had emerged: specifically, modernity and the technological developments of the twentieth century. J. K. Annand and T. S. Law add to the existing body of responses to MacDiarmid's early work. However, the six remaining essays in this special issue of *Akros* maintain the change of critical focus that had begun to emerge in the special issue of *Agenda*. John Herdman provides one of the first thorough considerations of MacDiarmid's prose work, and Arno Reinfrank offers a short reflection on translating MacDiarmid into German. G. S. Fraser and Roderick Watson made contributions that continued this work. By responding directly to Iain Crichton Smith's 1967 pamphlet *The Golden Lyric*, Fraser provides a rare example of inter-critical discourse that also represents one of the first direct engagements with the way in which other critics had privileged MacDiarmid's earlier work. However, Fraser retains a reliance on New Critical approaches which lead him to contend that the "late poems ... are struggling beyond the limits of art" (57). Watson claims, similarly, that in the later poems MacDiarmid had traveled "perhaps to the end of art itself" (74). However, in contrast to Fraser's New Critical perspective, Watson is clear that "in the later poems (such as *The Kind of Poetry I Want* and *In Memoriam James Joyce*) the classic concept of the poem as a finely wrought and *concluded* work has been abandoned"; instead, it has "something in common with contemporary developments, particularly in American verse" (91). In this understanding, *In Memoriam's* cataloguing techniques "are the product of a mind which has come to see them all as signs", and the text's structure is "as a series of irreducible blocks, static, massive, and always referring us back" not to the poem itself but to "*actuality*, to the world before us" (91-2). Watson also appears to follow Morgan in the way that he takes *Annals of the Five Senses* as a point of comparison, contending that "MacDiarmid has never abandoned the intimation of reality as flux, which he explored in *Annals*"; this approach enables Watson to trace out the continuities that are present in MacDiarmid's career.

The New Critical approaches that had been called into question by Morgan and Watson continued to dominate the field throughout the 1970s in, for example,

the work of Ann Edwards Boutelle. However, critics such as Duncan Glen continued to suggest new approaches to MacDiarmid's work. In the pamphlet *The Individual & the Twentieth-Century Scottish Literary Tradition*, Glen echoes observations made by Watson when he located MacDiarmid alongside poets such as Adrian Henri and Jim Burns, who he considers as working in the tradition of American poets such as Charles Olson and William Carlos Williams, as well as highlighting the parallels that exist between MacDiarmid's use of silence and developments in contemporary poetry. This was followed, in 1977, by a second *Akros* special issue focusing on MacDiarmid's work. This issue of *Akros* provides a useful summary of the developments that had taken place in MacDiarmid studies in the period following the publication of *In Memoriam*. While it is relatively even in terms of the degree to which it responds to different periods in MacDiarmid's career, differences exist between the ways in which critics respond to these distinct periods. Critical engagements with MacDiarmid's later work (including essays by Ruth McQuillan and Philip Pacey) retain the "introductory summary" approach that was common with earlier criticism, whereas considerations of MacDiarmid's earlier work (such as those by Annand, Buthlay, and Stephen Mulrine) have moved beyond this approach.

Glen, Pacey, Edmund Stegmaier, Buthlay, and McQuillan made further contributions to the field in 1977 and 1978. Following Morgan, Glen restated the centrality of *Annals of the Five Senses* to MacDiarmid's project as a whole — and to an interpretation of that project that sees it as continuous — when he contends that the text contains "[t]he essentials of MacDiarmid's vision" ("An Essay" 8). Pacey and Stegmaier undertake comparative readings of *Lucky Poet* — alongside David Jones's *Epoch and Artist* — and "The Seamless Garment" — with Auden's "A Communist to Others" — respectively. And Buthlay and McQuillan both provide continuations of Morgan's arguments in "MacDiarmid at 75" regarding the possibility of considering MacDiarmid's later work as an example of a "treated text" (26). Buthlay demonstrates the work that was involved in transforming Glyn Jones' work in "Perfect", whereas

McQuillan demonstrates that Chambers *Twentieth Century Dictionary* is a significant source for “On A Raised Beach” (“Some” 5; “Dictionary” 10). In doing so, McQuillan can be read as implying a further continuity in MacDiarmid’s work. Rather than viewing the 1930s as a period when MacDiarmid moved away from writing in Scots and towards writing in English, McQuillan’s analysis suggests that it could instead be viewed as a period where MacDiarmid developed his use of dictionaries as source materials for his work.

MacDiarmid died in Edinburgh on 9 September 1978, and the *Complete Poems* were published for the first time later in the same year. 1978 represents the end of a distinct period in MacDiarmid studies. As I have argued, between the publication of *In Memoriam* in 1955 and this date many of the critical engagements with MacDiarmid’s work maintain the tendencies that had existed in the field before 1955, and which had caused many critics to assign a low valuation to *In Memoriam*. However, Roderick Watson and Edwin Morgan were amongst critics who stressed the continuities that are arguably present in MacDiarmid’s poetic output, thereby providing an approach to counter earlier work — which was itself often influenced by New Critical approaches — that emphasises the perceived break in MacDiarmid’s work in the 1930s. Therefore, while the majority of secondary material produced in this period did continue to focus on MacDiarmid’s earlier work at the expense of a sustained critical engagement with his later work, the new approaches developed by critics such as Watson and Morgan are helpful when engaging with MacDiarmid’s later work.

1978 to 1992: from the *Complete Poems* to *MacDiarmid 2000*

The publication of the *Complete Poems* in 1978 meant that critics had relatively straightforward access to the majority of MacDiarmid’s poetic output for the first time. There was a significant increase of activity in MacDiarmid studies between the year of MacDiarmid’s centenary in 1978 and the beginning of Carcanet’s *MacDiarmid 2000* project in 1992, which would re-issue the *Complete Poems* and collect much of

MacDiarmid's prose work for the first time. While the first MacDiarmid-focused PhD theses had been submitted in 1966 and 1972 and while further theses were written throughout the 1970s, many more PhDs were completed in MacDiarmid studies between 1978 and 1992. Moreover, while very few monographs had appeared in the field before the 1980s, a series of monographs began to appear during this time.

Much of the work published in this period continued to deploy the tropes that had shaped the field since its inception in the 1920s. Critics retain a general focus on MacDiarmid's earlier work, at the expense of engaging with the later work. Critics also continue to rely on methodologies that are biographical or which attempt to locate MacDiarmid's poetry within the context of his political thought, or the New Critical methodologies that Morgan and other critics have argued lead to a devaluation of MacDiarmid's later work. Finally, while the quantity and depth of discourse between critics had increased during the 1970s and continued to increase during this period, some of the issues I have identified regarding the lack of inter-critical discourse in the field remained after 1978.

However, this period also included a number of positive developments in MacDiarmid studies. Many of these can be seen as continuations of the thread that runs from Shepherd through to Morgan, and which includes early critical interventions by Leavis and Deutsch as well as later tensions — such as in the work of Morgan and Watson — between New Critical frameworks and approaches that emphasised the continuities in MacDiarmid's output as a whole. Monographs by John Baglow, Alan Riach, and W. N. Herbert considered MacDiarmid's later poetry in considerable depth. And while a number of critics retained a biographical approach, some of these — such as Nancy Gish — deployed this approach in a less deterministic way.

1980 saw the publication of *The Age of MacDiarmid*, which was the first book-length collection of essays responding to MacDiarmid's work since the *Festschrift* of 1962 and the first collection in any form since the publication of the *Complete Poems* in 1978. Many contributions to the text maintain the trends that were prevalent in

earlier criticism and which contributed to the devaluation of MacDiarmid's later work. But contributions by David Daiches, Iain Crichton Smith, and Stephen Maxwell — as well as Edwin Morgan's essay "MacDiarmid and Scotland", which was discussed earlier in this chapter — diverge from these approaches. Daiches focuses on the early Scots lyrics, but he also discusses *In Memoriam* and stresses the continuities that can be detected throughout MacDiarmid's work. In an echo of Ruth McQuillan's work on MacDiarmid's use of dictionaries and Morgan's arguments regarding the way in which the Scots of *Sangshaw* rather than the English of *Cenchrastus* can be seen as the point of diversion in MacDiarmid's career, Daiches stresses how the "long catalogues" and "lists of technical terms" MacDiarmid deploys in *In Memoriam* are "naming devices which serve the same function as [MacDiarmid's] picking out of a suggestively expressive single Scots word from Jamieson's Dictionary" (62-3). Crichton Smith highlights different continuities in the way that he identifies "On a Raised Beach" as an example of MacDiarmid's later "poetry of fact". He agrees with earlier work by Morgan and Watson when he concedes that engaging with this poetry "requires some new form of criticism that we haven't as yet got" (157). And while Maxwell approaches MacDiarmid's work through his political nationalism, unlike earlier engagements that had adopted similar methods Maxwell offers a less reductive and more nuanced reading of the relationship between MacDiarmid's politics and his poetry.

A handful of MacDiarmid-related articles that develop positive trends in the field were published in this period, by — amongst others — T. J. Cribb, Raymond Ross, Catherine Kerrigan, Margery McCulloch, Robert Crawford, Walter Perrie, and Kenneth Buthlay. Cribb and Ross maintained the emerging critical tendency to highlight the continuities in MacDiarmid's poetic output. Kerrigan provides an overview of the intellectual context and publishing history of MacDiarmid's work in the 1920s, while McCulloch locates MacDiarmid's criticism in that period and into the 1930s alongside that of Edwin Muir and Neil Gunn. Crawford appears to follow Gish in the way that he identifies MacDiarmid as a specifically modernist poet whose

poetry, “particularly but by no means exclusively in the early period”, makes use of “innumerable references and allusions to Eliot’s work” (64). Walter Perrie focuses on *Drunk Man*, arguing in “Nietzsche and the ‘Drunk Man’” that critics had struggled to evaluate any of MacDiarmid’s work beyond the early Scots lyrics. But a further article by Perrie, “Prosody and Politics in ‘In Memoriam James Joyce’”, along with Buthlay’s “The Ablach in the Golden Pavilion”, are especially important in the context of developing an understanding of MacDiarmid’s later work. Both articles expand on Morgan’s contention in “MacDiarmid at 75” that *In Memoriam* should be thought of “as a series of treated texts” (26). Unlike a number of earlier critics who have used *In Memoriam*’s incorporation of pre-existing source texts as grounds for devaluing the poem, Perrie engages with the phenomenon directly, outlining how it is deployed and demonstrating the creative work that is necessary in order to create a text from multiple prose sources. Similarly, Buthlay analyses the ways in which MacDiarmid transforms the prose sources he draws on, thereby drawing attention to the specific techniques that underpin this work.

However, the most important developments in the field between 1978 and 1992 took place in the monographs that were published during the period by Alan Bold, Harvey Oxenhorn, Nancy Gish, Roderick Watson, and John Baglow; and, especially, monographs published by Alan Riach and W. N. Herbert in the early 1990s. In *The Terrible Crystal* and *Elemental Things*, Bold and Oxenhorn, respectively, reflect the opinion of many earlier critics who highlight the lack of emotion and structure they perceive in *In Memoriam*. However, Oxenhorn echoes the concession made by critics such as Buthlay when he observes that “any satisfactory consideration” of the later work is predicated “on critical approaches and assumptions significantly different” from those he has himself used (188). In *Hugh MacDiarmid: the Man and his Work*, Gish develops a biographical approach that decouples MacDiarmid’s work from his biography and thereby avoids deterministic readings of the former. In her consideration of MacDiarmid’s later work, Gish follows critics such as Morgan who

have identified continuities throughout MacDiarmid's poetic output. Moreover, the specific continuity that Gish identifies is MacDiarmid's use of "a kind of 'plagiarism'", which she argues also to be present in both *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* and the early Scots lyrics: although she rejects this characterisation of MacDiarmid's "Gongorism" as plagiaristic as having "missed the point that it was intentional and unabashed and often acknowledged" (191). Gish suggests a new approach to MacDiarmid's later work when she compares it with a video installation at New York's Museum of Modern Art, arguing that the way the installation rejected "both precise selectivity and conscious arrangement" has parallels with MacDiarmid's own conception of art as "inclusive, open, and infinitely varied" (179). In *MacDiarmid*, Watson also seems to follow Morgan when he finds similar continuities between the later work, the early Scots lyrics, and *Drunk Man*, contending that in the former's "search for a selfless and timeless epic mode, they adopted the catalogue, rather than the metaphor as their controlling guide" (98). Baglow undertakes one of the few sustained readings of the entire text of *In Memoriam*. While he ultimately rejects the project, his characterisation of it is a helpful development of Morgan's understanding of it as a series of treated texts: for Baglow, *In Memoriam* is "serial collage" that facilitates "an exposition of MacDiarmid's central theme of potential"; it is, therefore, a poem of "found objects, whether these are found in the pockets of others or not ... material to be kept within reach for the time when their potential is to be realised in the creation of world language" (152; 183).

In terms of understanding MacDiarmid's later work — and *In Memoriam* in particular — the most important contributions to the field in this period are Riach's *Hugh MacDiarmid's Epic Poetry* and Herbert's *To Circumjack MacDiarmid*. Both texts can be seen as the fullest development of ideas Riach and Herbert had expressed in a series of articles published in the 1980s and early 1990s. A significant common theme in Riach's work in the period is the identification of MacDiarmid as a modernist poet whose work should be read alongside that of major modernist writers. Indeed, Riach's

earliest publications coincide with what Carla Sassi has described as the “relatively recent” establishment of “the notion of a Scottish modernism” (184). As Sassi argues, “[i]ts first (tentative) usage possibly dates back to a 1987 study on T. S. Eliot by Angus Calder”: that is, Calder’s book *T. S. Eliot* (184). In “The Later MacDiarmid”, published in the same year, Riach contends that *Stony Limits* is the “pivotal volume” in the transition from the early to the late MacDiarmid, and compares MacDiarmid’s later work to the work of Charles Olson and also to the *Cantos* (217). Riach goes on to echo the sentiments of Iain Crichton Smith and other critics when he contends that while “[c]onventional literary criticism assumes poetry is to be read as the work of the poet”, a striking feature of MacDiarmid’s later work is the extent to which this position is challenged and resisted, with ““MacDiarmid”” exemplary of Michel Foucault’s author-function in the sense that it is “all that holds the proliferating later work together” (222). In “T. S. Eliot and Hugh MacDiarmid”, Riach describes the intellectual common ground between the two poets, including the work of Paul Valéry as well as “Bergson, Spengler, Nietzsche, Freud, Eastern philosophy and religious mythology”, before going on to describe the allusions to Eliot’s work that can be found in that of MacDiarmid (126). Riach also comes back to the idea of the transition from the earlier to the later MacDiarmid, contending that in the period immediately following the publication of *To Circumjack Cencrastus* in 1930, “MacDiarmid’s entire poetic career shifts radically and turbulently towards the axial confrontation that takes place in the poem ‘On a Raised Beach’” (129-30).

Hugh MacDiarmid’s Epic Poetry was the first — and remains the only — monograph to take *In Memoriam James Joyce* as its specific subject. In it, Riach crystallises the ideas that he had developed in his previous work as he undertakes a threefold approach to the text. Firstly, he outlines some theoretical approaches that can be used to read the poem, drawing on MacDiarmid’s political and intellectual development in the 1920s and 1930s — and, specifically, his 1936 essay “Charles Doughty and the Need for Heroic Poetry” — in order to contend that *In Memoriam*

is an example of “epic” poetry. For Riach, MacDiarmid’s specific deployment of the epic mode is political in the sense that “it engages its readers in such a way as to alter the nature of their interpretive reading of the text” (15). Riach goes on to locate *In Memoriam* within the context of European modernism, drawing parallels between the specific political nature of MacDiarmid’s work and the work of Bertolt Brecht, arguing that “MacDiarmid’s epic poetry involves the simultaneous estrangement and participation of the reader” involving “an irregular, but continuing series of contradictions and recognitions” (32). Secondly, Riach uses this understanding of *In Memoriam* to undertake an extended analysis of the text, contending that MacDiarmid’s use of citation contributes to *In Memoriam*’s status as a specifically Marxist example of world literature. Indeed, Riach goes on to argue that the poem should be thought of in the terms of the “revolutionary form” of the collage work of Picasso and Georges Braque, whereby “a variety of different objects already in existence” are relocated “in a new pattern which will present in its entirety both startling connections and alarming disruptions” (110). MacDiarmid is therefore a poet who “comes across the division critics have described as lying between ‘modernism’ and ‘post-modernism’ ... alter[ing] the modes of his writing at least until the 1950s” so that his work “chronologically reflects the major shift in twentieth-century literary culture” (111). Finally, Riach considers the related themes of the first person singular poetic voice in *In Memoriam* and MacDiarmid’s use of “plagiarism” in his composition of the poem, arguing that the speaker of many of MacDiarmid’s poems is not specified as a particular person but is “an amalgamation of C. M. Grieve, his construct ‘MacDiarmid’, and a mass of different source-texts” (158). For Riach, the concept of plagiarism “testifies to the investment of faith we make in the notion of the writer as ‘original’ creator”, and therefore “has to do with our insistence on the right to know the meaning of the text, and then be sure that our knowledge is given assent from somewhere” (161). Riach then follows a number of critics when he uses his analysis to demonstrate the continuities that run through MacDiarmid’s work, in the case of Riach’s reading specifically from the early

Scots lyrics through to *Direadh III*.

To Circumjack MacDiarmid represents a similar crystallisation of ideas that Herbert had explored in the period under consideration here, many of which are similar to ideas expressed by Riach. In the 1985 essay of the same title, Herbert stresses MacDiarmid's use of citation in his composition process, arguing that the late work should be read primarily as a result of the intertextuality that emerges from this use of citation, and foreshadowing Riach's analysis of MacDiarmid's poetic voice and constructed persona. In "MacDiarmid: Mature Art" Herbert locates MacDiarmid within the context of British modernism while observing that MacDiarmid studies is dominated by "Scottish traditionalists" who "have made little attempt to see what is specifically modernist about his work": a trend that creates a critical blindspot around MacDiarmid's later work. Herbert picks up these threads in *To Circumjack MacDiarmid*. In contrast to the way in which Riach's monograph focused on *In Memoriam*, Herbert attempts an analysis of all of MacDiarmid's output from the early English prose and poetry through to *Mature Art*, which he considers in the final two of the text's eight chapters. Herbert reconstructs this immense project from available textual evidence, concluding that it "could be described as a six-volume poem consisting of the *Cornish Heroic Song* ..., *The Red Lion* (reassembled from *Second Hymn*, the 'Hitherto Uncollected Section' of the *Complete Poems*, and the 'Third Hymn'), *The Battle Continues*, *The Kind of Poetry I want*, and *In Memoriam* more or less as printed, and *Impavidi Progrediamur* according to the parameters defined by the broadcast [which had taken place on the BBC radio Third Programme on 19 December 1956]" (167). Herbert goes on to analyse the role played by each part of the reconstructed *Mature Art* in the work as a whole, identifying (as Buthlay had done in relation to *Drunk Man*) a series of symbols that run through the separate parts to give the text a structural coherence. One of these is the motif of address, which Herbert contends to be "one way in which MacDiarmid moves around in his late poetry is from one addressee to another, changing the subject in accordance with their supposed interests" (205).

Finally, Herbert addresses the MacDiarmid persona and its relation to the multiple poetic voices that operate in the later work, arguing that the voice deployed in *Mature Art* “must be seen to be capable of absorbing a variety of disparate voices, and this involves the development of an expanded voice, a depersonalised but still recognisable tone within which the different registers can seem at home” (216). Overall, Herbert agrees with Riach and other critics who have highlighted the continuities that can be detected in MacDiarmid’s poetic career. Indeed, while Herbert contends that *Mature Art* is the product of a period during which MacDiarmid’s “poetic theory underwent a revolution which produced a ‘mature’ style quite distinct from earlier work”, the resulting mature style is “related structurally to *Annals of the Five Senses*” (xi; 157).

Taken together, Riach and Herbert’s work can be seen to follow work undertaken by Morgan to develop a framework within which *In Memoriam* might be interpreted. Analysis of the text’s composition history used alongside both critics’ focus on *In Memoriam*’s use of citation provides a macro-level understanding of the text, whereas close reading of *In Memoriam* addresses its relationship of ideas relating to poetic voice. However, in the period between the first publication of the *Complete Poems* in 1978 and the inception of the *MacDiarmid 2000* project in 1992 the broader field continued to perpetuate many of the trends that had been present since — and sometimes before — the publication of the *Festschrift* in 1962. A significant proportion of secondary material published in this period maintained a focus on MacDiarmid’s earlier work and often continued to privilege approaches (including those based on New Critical ideas) that were less helpful for understanding MacDiarmid’s later work. However, in this period there was also a growing sense that some critics were recognising the shortcomings these approaches had when applied to MacDiarmid’s later work. Moreover, critics such as Riach and Herbert were beginning to formulate new critical frameworks that built on and consolidated the work of earlier critics — such as, especially, Edwin Morgan — who had proposed new ways that MacDiarmid’s later work might be understood as a project that is first

and foremost a series of treated texts. These critics also suggested that these new understandings of the later work might lead to the revaluation of MacDiarmid's poetic output as a whole, possibly through the centralisation of MacDiarmid's use of citation throughout his entire career.

1992 to now: MacDiarmid and Modernist Studies

1992, the centenary of MacDiarmid's birth, saw Carcanet's re-issue of the *Complete Poems* and the inception of its *MacDiarmid 2000* project, which would make much of MacDiarmid's prose work readily available for the first time. Riach and Herbert's characterisation of MacDiarmid as a specifically modernist writer prefigures the way in which this understanding of MacDiarmid's work came to dominate the field from the 1990s onwards. Other approaches, such as the work of "Scottish traditionalists" that Herbert critiqued, continued to be used, as exemplified by many of the contributions to the MacDiarmid-focused double issue of *Chapman* that was published in 1992. Approaches such as these were largely subsumed, however, as the direction of MacDiarmid studies came to be influenced by the rise of Modernist Studies as an overarching academic field. The most common theme in critical engagements with MacDiarmid's work in this period was the identification of MacDiarmid as working within one or other understanding of literary modernism. Indeed, many of these critical engagements reflect the way in which — as Brooker et al. describe — "[r]esearch in modernist studies since the late 1980s has moved away from an earlier emphasis on the aesthetic and towards a more culturally 'thick' sense of modernism's multiple connections to a wide variety of non-aesthetic practices": that is, what Mao and Walcowitz have termed the "New Modernist Studies" (1-2).

For example, in 1992's *Devolving English Literature*, Robert Crawford locates MacDiarmid's work within the context of a literary modernism that he characterises as a specifically peripheral phenomenon that occurred outwith metropolitan cultural centres. Crawford's approach can be seen to follow Morgan's 1954 article "Modern

Makars: Scots and English". In "MacDiarmid in Montrose" Crawford develops his idea further, contending that MacDiarmid constructs "an exemplary aesthetic of the local-international" that is connected with his "particular location in small-town Scotland" (33). And in "'The Glow-worm's 96 per cent efficiency': Hugh MacDiarmid's Poetry of Knowledge", Crawford adds his voice to the body of critics who have emphasised the continuities that can be identified in MacDiarmid's work. However, Crawford does this in a new way, and draws new inferences from the continuities that he traces. In Crawford's understanding, MacDiarmid's early use of Scots and his later use of scientific language both represent a subversion of Anglocentrism. The understanding of MacDiarmid's use of Scots is therefore shifted away from it being "a Kelmanesque gesture of popular identification", and his use of scientific language becomes a specifically international expression and parody of "the contestation of knowledge" and "the systematisation of knowledge and the control of its dissemination" (169, 176).

Crawford's modernist approach therefore echoes Morgan's comments regarding the way in which *In Memoriam's* use of citation engenders a generalist poetics that brings together art and science in a way that resonates with Wordsworth's arguments in the *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads*. Michael Whitworth continues and broadens this method, analysing how MacDiarmid transformed and combined source materials in the composition of his work, an approach undertaken previously by critics such as Kenneth Buthlay and Walter Perrie. In "Three Prose Sources for Hugh MacDiarmid's On a Raised Beach" (2007), Whitworth demonstrates how MacDiarmid composed that poem in part from materials taken from an essay on Charles Doughty by John Middleton Murry, a 1932 article in *The New English Weekly*, and a 1933 review in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Whitworth expands this work in "Culture and Leisure in Hugh MacDiarmid's 'On a Raised Beach'", situating MacDiarmid within the debates of the 1920s and 1930s concerning the increased leisure time that might be brought about by automation, and the implications of this for high culture. Here, MacDiarmid's

use of “diverse specialised vocabularies” are read as an attempt “to persuade the reader that diverse idioms can be held together in a single poem, and, by implication, in a single culture” (140). And in “The Use of Science in Hugh MacDiarmid’s Later Poetry” Whitworth demonstrates how scientific discourse has been present in MacDiarmid’s writing from the start of his career through to his later work. In so doing, Whitworth echoes the work of earlier critics including Morgan and Riach when he questions “the New Critical idea that the poem ... achieves a quasi-religious transcendence of everyday referentiality” (106).

Scott Lyall shares Crawford’s focus on place, deploying a biographical and intellectual-historical approach that follows the work of Gish and which frames MacDiarmid’s output as a specifically Scottish example of international modernism. In *MacDiarmid’s Poetry and Politics of Place: Imagining a Scottish Republic*, Lyall provides a suggestive framing for *In Memoriam* when he compares the text to Walter Benjamin’s *Arcades Project*. Lyall contends that *In Memoriam* can be seen as prefiguring “the paradigmatic shift to a postmodern era just opening as MacDiarmid began the poem”, and as an expression of “MacDiarmid’s global vision ... of a world politically and imaginatively decentred through the loss of European imperial control” (187).

Herbert’s own work in this period prefigures that of Crawford. In “Sciffies Across the Shibboloch” Herbert considers the influence MacDiarmid’s work as a journalist had on his poetry, which he identifies as being present as early as *Annals of the Five Senses*. This leads Herbert to consider MacDiarmid as a proto-situationist who aims to subvert the image of the world created by the mass media; by this reading, MacDiarmid’s use of dictionaries is seen as an unleashing of a “vocabulary that effectively opposed entrenched literary diction and values (7). And in “Testament and Confessions of an Informationist” Herbert argues that the way in which MacDiarmid’s later work brings together art and science challenges the hierarchies that exist between various forms of discourse, taking the argument full circle to reconnect it with Morgan’s comments regarding the *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* and the way that

MacDiarmid's development of this approach represents a form of generalism.

A similar return to Morgan's arguments can be identified in Riach's work from 1992 onwards. In essays such as "Hugh MacDiarmid and Charles Olson" and "After MacDiarmid: Creative Writers, the Canon, and the Academy" Riach extends the application of Modernist Studies approaches to include postmodern writers such as Olson, thereby following Morgan's contextualisation of MacDiarmid's late work amongst avant garde poetry in the 1950s and 1960s. Christopher Whyte has outlined a similar understanding of *In Memoriam*, arguing that the text "shows us MacDiarmid moving, at a surprisingly early stage, from the Modernism of his earlier production to positions that can clearly be identified as Postmodernist": it "breaks free", for example, "of dependence on the idea of a writer, and even of writing as traditionally conceived" (92, 95). However, Whyte specifies that he views *In Memoriam* as "a transitional text" that is distanced from postmodernism by both its "unmistakably lucid quality" and its "resolute élitism of Modernist ascendancy" (95-6).

Morag Shiach, John Fordham, Karen Veitch, Ian Duncan, Sascha Bru, and Alex Thomson are amongst the other critics in this period who have applied a Modernist Studies approach to MacDiarmid's work. In addition to these articles, the 2011 collection *Scottish and International Modernisms: Relationships and Reconfigurations*, edited by Emma Dymock and Margery Palmer McCulloch, includes contributions by Roderick Watson and Carla Sassi that reflect on the understanding of MacDiarmid as a modernist writer. Watson argues that a connection between "the modern Scottish Renaissance" and "Anglo-American and European modernism" can be detected in the way *Annals*, *Drunk Man*, and *In Memoriam* "find subjectivity to be ... fluid, elusive and fragmented", whereas Sassi argues for a revaluation that would enable critics to "discard the negative representation of Scottish modernism as a belated and minor offshoot of the normative metropolitan centre" in a way that "allows us to extend our investigation to include all Scottish writers who engaged with modernity" (8, 17, 195). Watson contributes a further essay locating MacDiarmid's work — including *In*

Memoriam — in the context of international modernism to *The Edinburgh Companion to Hugh MacDiarmid*, which was also published in 2011. However, other than Michael Whitworth's contribution (discussed above) the *Companion* largely repeats the field's long-term tendency of avoiding direct engagements with MacDiarmid's later work. One exception is Dorian Grieve's analysis of the evolution of MacDiarmid's constructed languages and their sources, in which Grieve observes that the multiform language of *In Memoriam* can be identified as early as *Drunk Man*. In the 2009 *Edinburgh Companion to Twentieth-Century Scottish Literature*, John Corbett reads *In Memoriam* alongside the work of W. S. Graham, describing the former as a "collage" and "a piece of found art" in the tradition of Duchamp's readymades. Corbett provides the only example of a critical response to the text that engages with its 1955 and 1956 editions as physical objects, when he argues that J. D. Fergusson's decoration of those editions "announce the poem as an *objet d'art*" (116). Moreover, Corbett draws parallels between MacDiarmid's use of collage in *In Memoriam* and his "ransacking of Jamieson's dictionary for his early lyrics", contending that these practices are "a meaningful attempt to redefine what it means to be a poet in a post-Romantic age" (116-7, 121).

Most recently, Lisa Otty and Eric Falci have located MacDiarmid's Scottish modernism within the context of British and Irish literature. Otty relocates MacDiarmid's work of the 1920s from a solely Scottish context to one that includes the north of England, arguing — in an echo of Crawford's work — that "the aim of the Scottish Renaissance ... was not to consolidate a marginal position in opposition to a dominant centre but rather *to transform both*" (219). Falci reads MacDiarmid alongside the work of David Jones, Thomas MacGreevy, and Basil Bunting. Using the term "late modernist" to refer to a body of work that comes after and is in some sense predicated on high modernism, Falci contends that "a rich cache of late modernist British and Irish poems in English catalyse themselves by incorporating Celtic or Gaelic materials (however strangely) into their reinvention of high modernist forms" (434).

Laura O'Connor and Matthew Hart both engage with MacDiarmid as a

modernist in ways that are particularly helpful for developing an understanding of *In Memoriam* in these terms. While O'Connor's work on MacDiarmid focuses on his earlier poetry in Scots and on *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, her approach is suggestive of ways in which it might be applied to MacDiarmid's work more generally, and especially to the later work. O'Connor's understanding of MacDiarmid's work is underpinned by multiple examples of opposition, tension, and juxtaposition, such as the way she draws on the work of Mary Louise Pratt and, specifically, Pratt's concept of the "contact zone", "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (*Haunted* 4). O'Connor's work on MacDiarmid is most fully developed in her monograph *Haunted English*, in which she follows Roy Harris and his work on the ways in which "monolingual dictionaries met the need to codify national vernaculars as self sufficient *langues*" a practice that "radically altered linguistic psychology" (115). O'Connor goes on to draw on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin when she describes MacDiarmid's Synthetic Scots as "neither the stylisation of Scots from the normative perspective of English that produces 'dialect verse' nor in any sense a macaronic blend of the two vernaculars" but, instead, a "hybridization" (119). While Matthew Hart also focused on MacDiarmid's early work in Scots, the way in which he traces the "aesthetic and ideological formation" of Synthetic Scots can also be seen to be helpful in the development of new approaches to reading *In Memoriam James Joyce* (52). Hart contends, for example, that "Synthetic Scots demands to be read ... as an attempt to render immanent, within the body of a disordered Scots lexicon, the polyphony and metalinguistic abstraction of international modernism" (59).

Conclusion

Critical engagements with MacDiarmid's later work — including *In Memoriam* — are limited by two related tendencies. Firstly, as Riach remarks in *Hugh MacDiarmid's Epic*

Poetry (and as Morgan, Watson and other critics have observed before him), critics are often reluctant to “relinquish the critical idea of an organically unified poem and to admit the failure of one kind of critical procedure”: that is, an approach that can be characterised as New Critical (41). Consequently, Riach argues, “the quality and weight of criticism that has been written about MacDiarmid’s poetry diminishes in authority and strength as it approaches the later work” (41). Conversely, those texts that can be read effectively with New Critical approaches have received more positive evaluations and a greater degree of critical attention.

The break this approach imposes between MacDiarmid’s earlier and later work means that critics have struggled to develop an overarching understanding of MacDiarmid’s career as a whole. This break is intensified by the fact that much of the earlier work, to which critics have assigned a higher valuation, was written in Scots, whereas the less highly valued later work was more likely to be written in English. This has led to the field being dominated — alongside New Critical approaches — by readings that Herbert has described as “Scottish traditionalist” (*Mature Art* 1987 29). These readings often privilege biographical approaches or interpret MacDiarmid’s poetry as an expression of his various political positions. As with the use of New Critical frameworks, this has established feedback loops between text and critic that lead to the increasing devaluation and disregard of MacDiarmid’s later work, and increase the difficulty of producing an holistic understanding of MacDiarmid’s poetic output.

Amongst these New Critical, Scottish traditionalist, and biographical approaches, Edwin Morgan has done more than any other critic to develop a framework within which MacDiarmid’s later work might be understood. By locating *In Memoriam* alongside poetry to which it was contemporary, Morgan was able to focus on the way in which MacDiarmid made use of citation as a compositional strategy. This focus enabled Morgan to connect *In Memoriam* all the way back to *Annals of the Five Senses*, by way of the latter’s self-described “mosaic” collage technique, thereby suggesting

a potential resolution for the discontinuity other critics have identified in MacDiarmid's career. Morgan uses this connection to observe that "one might think it was *Sangschaw* which provided the interruption" in MacDiarmid's career, bookended as the "early" work is by examples of texts written in English and making extensive use of citation ("MacDiarmid at 75" 177). Indeed, as a number of critics have observed, MacDiarmid might be helpfully conceptualised as first and foremost a poet who made extensive use of citation from source texts in the composition of his work. By this reading, each period of MacDiarmid's career can be understood as a different iteration of a poetics of citation, mosaic and collage, with the citational techniques of *Annals* and the dictionary dredging upon which MacDiarmid's work in Scots was predicated continued by the use of scientific and technical vocabularies in *On a Raised Beach* and the massive use of citation in later texts such as *In Memoriam*. Moreover, while citation is key to the identification of continuities in MacDiarmid's work, the way in which MacDiarmid uses it to bring disparate sources together has been identified by critics as representing both the fusion of art and science in a generalist approach and also the development of mass print media. Alternatively, critics such as Robert Crawford and W. N. Herbert have contended that MacDiarmid's use of citation speaks to a concern regarding the hierarchies that are present between languages, or to the possibility of counteracting a perceived Anglocentrism.

Herbert and Alan Riach seem to be the critics who have developed Morgan's approach most fully. But they are also early examples of the way in which the development of Modernist studies has increasingly come to dominate the interpretation of MacDiarmid's work. These interpretations — which can be placed in a critical lineage that runs back not only through the work of Riach, Herbert, and Morgan, but also Nan Shepherd, Babette Deutsch, and F. R. Leavis — consider MacDiarmid as being a primarily modernist writer. In so doing, they create the potential for the continued decoupling of MacDiarmid studies from a Scottish traditionalist approach. It seems, then, that approaching MacDiarmid as a modernist writer for whom citation was

fundamental to the composition of their work is the best approach available if we are to reach an understanding that accounts for his entire career. Moreover, it seems that MacDiarmid's use of citation might best be understood as being in some sense a response to interlingual power relations and various modern phenomena, including the relationship between art and science and the development of mass communications.

MacDiarmid poetic output may be best understood through first understanding his use of citation. MacDiarmid's use of citation may itself be best understood through an analysis of its fullest published development: that is, the way in which citation is deployed in *In Memoriam*. The task, then, is to develop an understanding of *In Memoriam*'s use of citation through the lens of modernist studies.

Chapter Two

In Chapter One I demonstrated how many critical approaches — and especially those approaches that privilege New Critical methodologies or the methodologies that W. N. Herbert termed “Scottish traditionalist” — have led to the identification of a break in MacDiarmid’s poetic career between the earlier work in Scots and the later work in English, and how the identification of this break often caused the later work to be devalued or disregarded. I went on to argue that thinking of MacDiarmid’s composition process as primarily involving the use of citation can engender an understanding of MacDiarmid’s poetic output that emphasises its continuities. Therefore, in this chapter I chose MacDiarmid’s use of citation in *In Memoriam* as a starting point from which to approach the text.

Critics who have engaged with MacDiarmid’s use of citation have usually either interpreted it as straightforward plagiarism — using this as another reason to devalue and disregard *In Memoriam* — or have glossed over it in favour of focusing on another aspect of the text’s poetics. Still other critics have contended that MacDiarmid’s use of prose sources in the composition of his poetry means that it should not be considered to be poetry at all, such is the extent to which they distinguish between the two forms. While these potential implications of MacDiarmid’s incorporation of pre-existing source material into his own work had been remarked on prior to 1965, it was in the first half of that year that an exchange between multiple contributors in the *Times Literary Supplement* letters pages brought wider critical attention to the debate. This exchange serves as an effective summary of the issues raised by critics in response to MacDiarmid’s use of citation. This chapter twice uses it as a starting

point from which to consider the implications of this approach. Firstly, it examines the ways in which allegations of plagiarism were responded to by critics and by MacDiarmid himself. These responses are then compared with the work of Marilyn Randall, whose understanding of plagiarism as being a pragmatic rather than a textual category connects it to understandings of authorship that draw on the work of Foucault. Secondly, it engages with the way in which critics have debated whether, and how, prose can be transformed into poetry through the use of techniques like those deployed in *In Memoriam*. In response to these debates, I argue that *In Memoriam* can helpfully be located alongside some of the work to which its publication was contemporary. However, I reject the term “postmodern” in favour of understanding *In Memoriam* as an example of what Marjorie Perloff has termed “late modernism”.

Lastly in this chapter, I use Gérard Genette’s work on hypertextuality and intertextuality in order to distinguish between the different forms of citation that are deployed in *In Memoriam*, and to develop a critical language to describe these forms of citation. However, in order to ground all of this work chronologically and to describe fully the way in which *In Memoriam* cites from its source materials via an intermediate “urtext”, it is first necessary to consider the text’s composition and publication history.

The composition and publication history of In Memoriam James Joyce

While *In Memoriam James Joyce* was first published by the Glasgow-based publisher William McLellan in 1955, evidence suggests that MacDiarmid carried out much of the composition work involved in the text’s creation during his time in Whalsay. However, during its process of composition the boundaries of the text often seem unfixed and permeable, in two ways. Firstly, the text that McLellan eventually published in 1955 as *In Memoriam* had a number of previous iterations, having been submitted for publication for the first time as early as 1938. Secondly, and more importantly in the context of the description of the text presented in this thesis, *In Memoriam*

can be thought of as a subsection of a much larger, unfinished work that I refer to as the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext. This immense urtext was itself a product of MacDiarmid's citational poetics, and much of the work that MacDiarmid published following his return from Whalsay in 1942 was taken from the urtext, with MacDiarmid making sometimes significant rearrangements to the material he took: indeed, as Edwin Morgan wrote in his 1956 review of *In Memoriam*, "Jujitsu for the Educated", "in a sense all MacDiarmid's recent poetry of this kind seems to belong to one megatherium unpublished work" (225).

I draw on the work of a number of critics in order to sketch out the approximate shape of the urtext. But its precise contents and boundaries are not my focus here. Instead, the point of describing the urtext is to emphasise the way in which *In Memoriam* can be thought of as incorporating its source materials via an intermediate text. MacDiarmid begins by selecting material from his sources, and bringing this material together in the urtext (as I explore in Chapter Five, many of the sources MacDiarmid chooses in fact themselves incorporate material from further sources, such as when a *TLS* review cites a work that is under review). He then repeats this process, selecting material from the urtext and presenting it as *In Memoriam* — or one of the other texts he composed in this way.

This understanding of *In Memoriam* as the result of a twice-iterated process of citation informs my understanding of the permeability of the text — a feature that is related to what W. N. Herbert has described as the text's "unclosable" nature, "in which every effort we make towards apprehension is subtly contradicted by the inscrutability of its remains" — which underpins the analysis of *In Memoriam* that I develop from Chapter Four onwards ("Hugh" 27). But understanding the relatively complex provenance of the text is also necessary in order to ground the theoretical approach to the text that I am developing in this chapter. This is largely due to *In Memoriam*'s extended chronology as a project that was apparently begun in the early 1930s, first "completed" in the late 1930s, but only published — with substantial

amendments — in the mid 1950s. Describing this chronology shows how *In Memoriam* exemplifies Eric Falci's conception of late modernist texts as having "arrive[d] in the world out of time or in the wrong place" (435). Marjorie Perloff's expression of similar ideas is discussed later in this chapter. Finally, the understanding of the provenance of *In Memoriam* I describe in this chapter — and, specifically, the ways in which MacDiarmid was able to access source materials in the (supposed) relative isolation of Whalsay — informs the relationship between *In Memoriam* and global English that I outline in Chapter Three.

In the "Author's Note" that is included in the first McLellan edition of *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid states that the text "was written in the Shetland Islands where I was then living immediately after James Joyce's death" (11). While Alan Riach has noted the ambiguity of this line, the next line of the Author's Note seems to contradict entirely the possibility that the text was written after Joyce's death on 13 January 1941 (*Epic* 60). MacDiarmid claims that *In Memoriam* "was to have been published by Mr Jack Kahane's Obelisk Press in Paris, but Mr Kahane's death prevented that": but Kahane died on 3 September 1939, meaning that the text that Obelisk were set to publish could not have been written "immediately after James Joyce's death" (11). Evidence suggests that much of what would come to be published as *In Memoriam* was composed in Shetland — or, more specifically, in Whalsay — between MacDiarmid's arrival there in May 1933 and his departure for war service in Glasgow in January 1942. MacDiarmid's single most common source for *In Memoriam* was the *Times Literary Supplement*. The earliest publication date of any of the issues of the *TLS* MacDiarmid used as source material was 1926. After that, two further sources can be located in issues published in 1932 and on 30 March 1933, a little over a month before MacDiarmid arrived in Shetland. However, when the material that MacDiarmid uses is ordered chronologically, the subsequent 50 sources taken from the *TLS* are all dated during MacDiarmid's time in Shetland, with the bulk having been published in 1935, 1936, and (especially) 1937. A further 42 sources are taken from issues of

the *TLS* published after MacDiarmid's departure from Shetland, but 29 of these are dated between 1951 and 1954. These later sources therefore correlate with the additional work MacDiarmid carried out on the text when readying it for publication in the 1950s; this process is discussed below. Moreover, as early as 14 January 1938 MacDiarmid refers to "an enormous poem in MSS on huge unmanageable pages of grocery-paper — an effort running to several thousand lines, and leaving Joyce at the starting-post so far as the use of multi-linguistics is concerned" (*Letters* 168). At around the same time, MacDiarmid wrote to T. S. Eliot to ask if Faber and Faber would consider publishing "an important long poem — between 4,000 and 5,000 lines" (*Letters* 446). And almost three and a half years later, on 17 June 1941, MacDiarmid wrote to Eliot again, referring to "the huge poem of mine" described in the 1938 letter and proposing that Faber consider a part of it "dealing with linguistic matters and the limitations of the human mind, and called this (which is complete in itself) *In Memoriam James Joyce*" for publication (*Letters* 453). This is the first time that MacDiarmid is known to have used this title to refer to one of his poems. However, Ruth McQuillan has noted that as early as 1936 MacDiarmid had referred to a poem titled *In Memoriam Teofilo Folengo*, which he described as "one of my best poems surveying the whole field, Occidental and Oriental, of linguistic experimentation and interaction ... running to three or four hundred multi linguistic lines" (*Complete* 199). The National Library of Scotland in fact holds a manuscript composed by MacDiarmid that is titled "In Memoriam Teofilo Folengo" that includes material that would later appear in, amongst other places, *In Memoriam James Joyce* and *The Kind of Poetry I Want*. It seems, therefore, that MacDiarmid had begun to compose a poem in memoriam of Folengo only to retitle it after Joyce's death on 13 January 1941. While MacDiarmid seems to think of both writers as macaronic, it seems that — counter to the implications of the "Author's Note" — his poem's new title is a marketing device intended to "appeal to all Joyce enthusiasts" (*Letters* 453).

While the text that was eventually published in 1955 as *In Memoriam James*

Joyce was composed largely during MacDiarmid's time in Whalsay between 1933 and 1942, it had existed in a number of previous iterations and as part of a number of proposed larger projects. In May 1938 MacDiarmid referred to a 10,000 line poem by the title *Mature Art* (*Letters* 169). This was in fact the title that MacDiarmid had given to the "important long poem" of "between 4,000 and 5,000 lines" that he had mentioned to Eliot a few months earlier (*Letters* 446). The disparity in the stated lengths of *Mature Art* can perhaps be explained by a further letter from MacDiarmid to Eliot dated 18 June 1938, with which MacDiarmid enclosed "four additional typescripts — three Appendices and a batch of miscellaneous additions which can be fitted into their proper places in the MSS later on" (*Letters* 447-8). And by 28 December 1939 MacDiarmid was describing how he expected the Obelisk Press to be publishing his "big new poem — *Cornish Heroic Song for Valda Trevlyn* (over 20,000 lines) — ere long" (*Letters* 470). Taking this comment at face value, this would mean that MacDiarmid added a significant amount of new material to the manuscript following the May 1938 description of the text as being 10,000 lines long. The parts of the text that are sourced from the *TLS* certainly seem to suggest that *some* new material was added in this period, with eight separate *TLS* sources being dated within this timeframe. And further insights into MacDiarmid's output at the time can be found in an interview given by Grant Taylor, who was employed by MacDiarmid as a secretary and typist between January 1938 and May 1940.¹ Taylor also refers to both *Mature Art* and *Cornish Heroic Song for Valda Trevlyn*, but the former is described as a finished but unpublished 20,000 line work that was completed some time after late 1938 and the latter as a proposed work that incorporated *Mature Art*: *Cornish Heroic Song* "was to be about 60,000 lines of poetry. ... But it never got finished, needless to say, the other third of it would have been necessary, 'Mature Art' being only the first third" (6).

It seems, then, that *In Memoriam* as published in 1955 is a subset of a

1. In this interview Grant says he "think[s]" he left in May 1940 "because the army insisted". This date seems very possible, however: on 11 February 1940 MacDiarmid writes to Sorley Maclean and implies that Taylor is still living with him; but by 13 July 1940 MacDiarmid writes to F. G. Scott that Taylor is "away" as the "Aberdeen local Tribunal turns him down and he's appealing" (*New Selected* 180, 183). In 1941 Taylor would be imprisoned for ten days as a conscientious objector (Lyll, *Poetry* 131).

significantly larger piece of work, much of which may never have been completed. The fullest description of how this larger work was organised is that offered by W. N. Herbert. The title Herbert uses for this project is — slightly confusingly — *Mature Art*. While it was never published in its entirety, Herbert reconstructs *Mature Art* as a “six volume poem” that includes, as one of its volumes, “*In Memoriam* more or less as printed”; Herbert describes the other volume as *Cornish Heroic Song, The Red Lion, The Battle Continues, The Kind of Poetry I Want, and Impavidi Progrediamur* (Circumjack 167). *Mature Art* “appeared to occupy [MacDiarmid] from 1933 (when *Poems to Paintings* was first written) until his death in 1978”; however, Herbert’s contention that “the major period of composition occupied a few short years up to and including the early part of the war” correlates with the understanding outlined above of the composition of *In Memoriam* and its related projects (Circumjack 167).

In places, however, Herbert’s characterisation of *Mature Art* seems overly precise. Part of his reconstruction of the project is based on work that MacDiarmid would eventually publish, including *In Memoriam* itself as well as *The Battle Continues* and *The Kind of Poetry I Want*. Parts of *Impavidi Progrediamur* were broadcast on the BBC Third Programme on 11 September 1956, when it was billed as “the second instalment of the vast poem whose opening section, “*In Memoriam James Joyce*” was published last year”. But the contents of other parts of *Mature Art* are inferred from material that MacDiarmid would go on to publish under different titles at various points in his career. Herbert reconstructs *The Red Lion* in this way, for example. However, John Manson has suggested a different formulation for *The Red Lion*, including a number of poems that include the word “Glasgow” in their titles (England 123-4). Indeed, a manuscript of MacDiarmid’s held by the University of Delaware titled “Glasgow 1938”, runs together (and rearranges) three poems that were each published under the title “Glasgow”: in order, one included in *Lucky Poet* in 1943, another collected in the *Collected Poems* in 1962, and a third collected in the 1978 *Complete Poems* but listed as originally having been published in 1947.² Moreover,

2. These poems are printed on pages 647, 1048, and 1333 of the *Complete Poems*, respectively.

above the upper-case title “GLASGOW 1938” at the top of the first page of this manuscript is the underlined supertitle “SECOND APPENDIX” and explanatory note, “(This is the complete text of the poem on Glasgow, excerpts of which—containing a few variations—appear on pp.)” with no page number given. If the year “1938” in the manuscript’s title is indicative of the date when it was compiled then it seems reasonable to suggest that this may have been one of the appendices that MacDiarmid sent to Eliot on 18 June 1938 to supplement the manuscript he had sent him earlier that year.

The Glasgow manuscript may at one point have been part of *Red Lion*, and at another point submitted as a supplement to a different project. Similarly, a manuscript titled “Snares of Varuna” — also the title of the third section of *In Memoriam* — held at the University at Buffalo, New York since it was deposited there in 1937, includes the opening part of the third section of *In Memoriam* (much of pages 840-3), followed by material that was eventually published by MacDiarmid in 1957 in the long poem “The Battle Continues” (much of 939-40), and then some material that does not appear to have been published. While it seems definitely to have been the case that MacDiarmid conceived of but did not complete one or more huge projects in the later part of this career, the nature of those projects is less strictly defined than Herbert’s description of the six-part *Mature Art* implies.

Like Herbert, I think of the 1955 version of *In Memoriam* as being related to some larger work. However, rather than thinking of it as *part of Mature Art* as defined by Herbert, I understand it to be *derived* from a more loosely defined piece of work which I refer to as the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext.³ This can be

3. Kenneth Buthlay refers to a different, four-volume version of *Mature Art*, with *In Memoriam* as its first volume, which he claims — perhaps with the subtitle used for both the 1955 edition of *In Memoriam* and for the version that was published in the 1978 *Complete Poems* in mind — was later referred to as *A Vision of World Language*. I have not used that third title when describing the urtext of which *In Memoriam* is a part, partly for simplicity but also because the body of work that Herbert describes as *Mature Art* seems to be significantly closer to being inclusive of all of MacDiarmid’s relevant output while he was on Shetland. It is interesting to note that while the title page of both the 1955 first edition of *In Memoriam* and the 1956 reprint refer to the poem as “In Memoriam James Joyce From A Vision of World Language”, the dust jackets of both editions instead use “A Vision of World Language” as a standard subtitle, on the model *In Memoriam James Joyce: A Vision of World Language*.

thought of as the sum total of all of the work MacDiarmid cited from his source materials: a massive body of work from which MacDiarmid took *In Memoriam* and much of the other poetry he published in the last thirty or so years of his career. The urtext was never “finished”, and neither could it be: instead, it was perpetually under revision, with MacDiarmid adding material to it over an extended period. The urtext sits between MacDiarmid’s source materials and the work he composed, leading the boundaries between those works to be less distinct and more permeable. Indeed, W. R. Aitken has remarked how when he came to edit the *Complete Poems* he was struck by how much of the “later work, after he had left Shetland was in fact publishing what had been written during these years”, so that “nearly all the material he published in the post-war years ... is bits and pieces of ‘Mature Art’ and the other long unpublished poems that were created in the Shetlands” (*Editing* 10, *Editing* 18).

Like much of MacDiarmid’s later work, *In Memoriam* is therefore a product of an act of citation that takes place through the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext. Source materials are first incorporated into the urtext, and material is then taken from the urtext and incorporated within *In Memoriam*. As well as highlighting the permeability of the text’s boundaries, thinking of *In Memoriam* in this way also draws attention to the text’s extended chronology. The available evidence suggests, moreover, that *In Memoriam*’s chronology is informed by the specific ways in which it was composed from the urtext, both in terms of creative decisions and also the physical limitations to which the composition process was subject. In a 1956 letter to the BBC radio producer D. G. Bridson, MacDiarmid recounts how his wife, Valda Trevlyn, had his papers shipped to the Scottish mainland following MacDiarmid’s return there in 1942, only for the papers to end up in storage with “a large proportion” of them not yet recovered (*Letters* 656). MacDiarmid claims that he was therefore required to write “fresh stuff to fill these gaps” (*Letters* 656). And Alan Riach has recounted a conversation with MacDiarmid’s son Michael Grieve in which Grieve claims that during their return to the mainland some of the MacDiarmid’s papers were water

damaged to the point that they became “unreadable” and “the texts were lost” and that “much of what was written after the move was written to ‘fill out’ ... the gaps between the parts already written which had survived” (*Epic* 65). Elsewhere, Grieve has described the extent of the material that was transported from Whalsay, describing how his mother was “laden with forty tea-chests crammed with manuscripts and books” during the journey to Glasgow (*Man* xiii).

However, in addition to the way in which the damage and loss to MacDiarmid’s papers necessitated his “filling the gaps” while preparing *In Memoriam* for publication, MacDiarmid also seems to have made some changes and additions to the text that were informed by creative decisions. In the same letter to Bridson, MacDiarmid remarks that “in the interval [between writing the manuscript and compiling for publication by MacLellan] some of my ideas had changed — and there had been many developments in linguistic thought; so I had to do a considerable amount of amending, adding, etc” (*Letters* 656). A similar editing process is described by MacLellan in a letter to MacDiarmid dated 31 August 1957. MacLellan describes how MacDiarmid “added 25% to the poem on the backs of the galleys of the first proofs”, a claim that is borne out by an advert for *In Memoriam* published in MacLellan’s *Scottish Journal*, which describes the text as being “4,000 lines long”: the first published edition of the text ran to over 6,000 lines (Manson *Dear* 424).

It seems, then, that *In Memoriam* is the product of an extended and uneven process of composition that began some time around 1932 and continued more or less until the text’s first publication in 1955, including a double citation process that first involved bringing together the text’s source materials in an intermediary urtext and then drawing on that urtext to create the text that was published in 1955. Specifically, MacDiarmid added extra material to *In Memoriam* close to its first publication — possibly between a quarter and a third of the published text — both to replace parts of the draft that were lost or damaged but also to enact a creative decision to update the text. Indeed, some of the material that was added at this time can be

identified through reference to the publication dates of the sources that MacDiarmid used in the composition of *In Memoriam*, a group of which cluster around the first half of the 1950s. *In Memoriam* is therefore a product both of its initial composition process on Whalsay, and also of the work that was carried out immediately prior to its first publication. In this sense, the text is suggestive of Falci's comments about the temporal displacement of what he terms "late modernism" (435-6). *In Memoriam* is temporally displaced even in relation to itself, and this aspect of the text needs to be accounted for in the theoretical framework that is used to approach it.

In Memoriam's pragmatic plagiarism

In Memoriam can therefore be understood — like much of MacDiarmid's later work — as a snapshot of parts of the *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext. The urtext is itself a curated, edited collection of source materials undertaken by MacDiarmid from the 1930s onwards. *In Memoriam* is therefore a product of these source materials. While a number of critics have acknowledged this aspect of the text, few have engaged with it directly: instead, critics have either glossed over this facet of MacDiarmid's creative practise or have characterised it as plagiarism and subsequently devalued and disregarded texts like *In Memoriam*. In this thesis I am arguing, conversely, that understanding the way in which MacDiarmid makes use of citation is vital to understanding *In Memoriam* as a whole. Citation is, moreover, central to the vast majority of MacDiarmid's poetic output, including work that is held in consistently high critical regard such as the Scots lyrics, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, and "On a Raised Beach". Understanding MacDiarmid's work from the point of view of his use of citation could therefore facilitate an holistic understanding of his entire poetic career. In building an understanding of *In Memoriam* as a primarily citational text means that the text's use of citation can therefore neither be glossed over; nor can it be described as plagiarism. Instead, I think of MacDiarmid's use of citation in terms of the historicised category of "pragmatic plagiarism" proposed by Marilyn Randall.

There was in fact minimal critical engagement with *In Memoriam's* use of citation in the first decade or so following the text's publication in 1955. This changed on 21 January 1965, when the poet Glyn Jones inadvertently started a debate in the letters pages of the *Times Literary Supplement* that was to continue for six months. Jones had written to the *TLS* in response to G. S. Fraser's 31 December 1964 review of Duncan Glen's *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Scottish Renaissance*, and the first edition of Kenneth Buthlay's *Hugh MacDiarmid*. In his review Fraser had quoted in full MacDiarmid's poem "Perfect". Jones claimed to have written all but the first line of the poem, albeit as a continuous paragraph of prose, and to have had it published in a volume of short stories that was released by Jonathan Cape in 1937.

The next issue of the *TLS* — 28 January 1965 — included MacDiarmid's response. MacDiarmid implicitly acknowledges that some wrongdoing has taken place when he explains how he has "made the necessary explanations and apologies to Mr. Glyn Jones" and how the poem "will of course not appear again over my name" (67). However, MacDiarmid does not take full responsibility. Instead, he claims never to have seen the short story that contained the material used in "Perfect", arguing that he must have encountered the lines in question in a review of Jones's book and either "automatically memorized it and subsequently thought it my own, or wrote it into one of my notebooks with the same result", an occurrence which he claims to be common poetic practise (67).

While Jones accepts the apology in a further letter published on 4 February, the same issue included a letter from Hugh Gordon Porteus which claimed that MacDiarmid's appropriation of Jones's work was in fact a common feature of MacDiarmid's poetic practise, to the extent that "a source-hunter may keep himself profitably occupied for years with this poet" (87). This is followed by similar claims by Gustav Herdan (on 6 May) and J. D. Scott (on 13 May). MacDiarmid continued to take part in the correspondence, but he did not address any of these claims with the degree of directness with which he had addressed the similar claims that had been

made by Jones.

In light of his copyings having been presented as a repeated and potentially systemic feature of his poetic practise — rather than the isolated and accidental occurrence they had initially appeared to be — MacDiarmid did eventually change his position from the one he had outlined in his initial response to Rhys. MacDiarmid initially modifies his position in response to a letter published on 22 April, in which John Sparrow further complicates the provenance of “Perfect”. Sparrow claims that the poem had in fact been written by MacDiarmid’s friend Kiedrych Rhys, a claim MacDiarmid unequivocally denied in a letter published on 29 April (311, 331). However the 6 May issue published a letter from Rhys corroborating Sparrow’s version of events (351). MacDiarmid responds to Rhys’s claim in a letter published on 13 May, but by this point his focus has shifted to discussing the nature of copyright as “a legal matter and not a literary one” (371). He goes on to (mis)quote T. S. Eliot as having said “‘Minor poets borrow, major poets steal”, and refers to a claim made by Ezra Pound that “he takes his material from wherever he can find it and endeavours to transform the assemblage into an artistic unity” (371). MacDiarmid then concludes that

I have always in such work [as *In Memoriam*] used ‘a strong solution of books’ and acted in accordance with what Dr. Johnson (wasn’t it ?) said in defending an alleged overuse of quotations from other writers, viz., that that showed a better sense of social obligation, since those who did not so use quotations (acknowledged or unacknowledged) never in fact did anything but quote all the time (371)⁴

This represents a *volte face* by MacDiarmid. Rather than accepting responsibility for some supposedly accidental wrongdoing as he had done before, MacDiarmid makes repeated appeals to authority in an attempt to re-frame his copyings as a creative

4. MacDiarmid also uses this expression in *The Company I’ve Kept*, the second volume of his autobiography, which was published the year after the *TLS* correspondence took place (11). Roderick Watson traces the expression to the work of Oliver Wendell Holmes (“MacDiarmid and International Modernism” 7).

practice.

Taken together with the sheer extent of MacDiarmid's copying as suggested by the *TLS* correspondence, MacDiarmid's change of position here makes it difficult to take his earlier defence of his practise seriously. And a comparison of that earlier defence with the way in which we now know MacDiarmid to have used source materials in the composition of *In Memoriam* further undermines MacDiarmid's claim that his unacknowledged copying of texts was accidental. MacDiarmid suggests that the lines from Jones that ended up in "Perfect" were either memorised or copied into a notebook: that is, they were decoupled from any indication that they were written by a third party, and MacDiarmid was therefore able to mistake them for his own work. But it is difficult to understand why MacDiarmid would undertake the tedious job of copying out longer passages that he uses in *In Memoriam*, such as the *TLS* article that is used to compose the ten page Karl Kraus passage that runs from page 767 to 776, or the Ford Madox Ford "Stocktaking" essays that provides almost all of the material for the "England is Our Enemy" section. And even for those instances when MacDiarmid might have understandably copied a passage from a book to which he did not have regular access, it seems surprising that he did not make a note of where that passage had been copied from: indeed, on a number of occasions in *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid is able to provide citations for the material he incorporates, suggesting that in these instances at least he had done precisely that.

Interestingly, in the preface to his 1923 book *Annals of the Five Senses* (titled "In Acknowledgement"), MacDiarmid explicitly frames that text as a work that incorporates the work of other writers. This presentation is in direct contrast to the way in which similar techniques are glossed over by MacDiarmid in his letters to the *TLS* in 1965. In the preface to *Annals* MacDiarmid states that he is attempting to represent "psychological movements ... reflected through the current reading and cultural conditions" of his characters who, just as "fish are seen through an aquarium", are "discernible almost entirely through a 'strong solution of books' — and not

only of books but of magazines and newspaper articles and even of speeches" (17). MacDiarmid also seems already to be aware of the limitations of the copying system he would use to excuse his having taken material from Glen Jones, stating that "[T]he sources of certain of my quotations I unfortunately cannot now trace ... [i]f inadvertently I have anywhere used copyright material without the necessary permission, I err through no lack of effort to trace my quotations: and hope to have the indulgence of those upon whose rights I may have trespassed", before listing some writers and publications from whom he has quoted (17). In fact, MacDiarmid uses the phrase "a 'strong solution of books'" both when describing *Annals* and in responding to Jones.⁵

The preface to *Annals* therefore suggests that incorporating the work of other writers into his own work had been part of MacDiarmid's poetic practice since early in his career. Indeed, the "Dedication" to John Buchan at the start of the text specifically stops short of claiming that MacDiarmid has "written" the main part of that text, since he refers to "these poems and these ... psychological studies, essays, mosaics (call them what you will) which I have (perhaps the best word in the meantime is) 'designed'" (15). However at some point between the publication of *Annals* and the publication of *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid's position had changed. MacDiarmid uses the long "Author's Note" that prefaces the 1955 edition of the text to allude to the citationality of his later work, which he describes as being exemplified by "very long poems, abounding in phrases from many foreign languages and packed with literary and scientific allusions of all kinds" and when he quotes from David Daiches's description of this work as including a "great range of allusions and references" (11). But he does not make any statement comparable in tone or content to that made at the beginning of *Annals*. And by the time of the *TLS* debate in 1965, while the spirit of MacDiarmid's response is close to that of the *Annals* preface when referring to the apparently isolated incident of his using Glyn Jones' work in the composition

5. The phrase is included in quotation marks on both occasions, and is in fact taken from an essay included in the Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' (1809-1894) 1858 collection *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*; Wendell Holmes is one of the writers credited at the end of the preface to *Annals*.

of “Perfect”, when his work is the focus of allegations of more systemic copying or plagiarism his position reverts to being much closer to that expressed in the “Author’s Note” to *In Memoriam*.

MacDiarmid’s inconsistent descriptions of his use of citation have left it unexplained. At one extreme, he has claimed — as in the case of “Perfect” — that the appearance in his work of material taken from the work of other writers is the result of honest mistakes. At the other, Kenneth Buthlay has quoted MacDiarmid as having said that “[w]e’re all full of quotations ... only some of us are adroit enough to choose our quotations from sources that aren’t so easily checked as others” (101). The latter position suggests that MacDiarmid is knowingly undertaking acts of plagiarism. This is certainly the stance adopted by many critics, including Geoffrey Grigson and Mark Haymon, both of whom contributed to the *TLS* debate in order to characterise MacDiarmid’s use of citation in this way. However, the work of the critic Marilyn Randall can be used to provide a new understanding of MacDiarmid’s use of citation. Randall has presented a more nuanced understanding of what she terms “textual repetition” in which she argues that failing to provide attribution for a quotation is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate that plagiarism has taken place, since

‘plagiarism’ is not, in fact, primarily a textual category, but a pragmatic one ... [it] is not an immanent feature of texts, but rather the result of judgements involving, first of all, the presence of some kind of textual repetition, but also, and perhaps more important, a conjunction of social, political, aesthetic, and cultural norms and presuppositions that motivate accusations or disculpations, elevating some potential plagiarisms to the level of great works of art, while censuring others and condemning the perpetrators to ignominy (4-5).

The distinction Randall draws between textual repetition as an “immanent feature of texts” and plagiarism as “the result of judgments involving ... a conjunction of social, political, aesthetic, and cultural norms” can be used to frame a new approach to

MacDiarmid's use of citation. While arguments made by Grigson and Haymon may be valid from the perspective of legal copyright, Randall demonstrates how those arguments are predicated on a series of assumptions that neither critic examines.

Moreover, in practice Grigson and Haymon's allegations of plagiarism seem to shut down the possible interpretations of *In Memoriam*. As Randall argues, plagiaristic texts "are rarely studied ... precisely because their qualification as plagiaristic automatically excludes them from the domain of appropriate objects of literary attention" (4). In contrast, Randall's conception of "textual repetition" as being related to "a conjunction of social, political, aesthetic, and cultural norms and presuppositions" has specific theoretical implications that both broaden the potential field of interpretation within which *In Memoriam* is located and also provide a starting point for a theoretical understanding of *In Memoriam*'s poetics (4-5).

Plagiarism and authorship

Randall goes on to develop these theoretical implications, including the way in which they relate to authorship. She first observes that textual repetition is not always interpreted as being plagiarism: indeed, "[l]iterary imitators may be praised for the alleged brilliance of their 'borrowings', or may be stripped of their claims to the glory of authorship and expelled from legitimate membership in the literary institution" (20). However, "[w]hat is ... always necessary for plagiarism to be perceived is a notion of authorship entailing concepts of propriety, if not property, over discursive or intellectual products" (20). Plagiarism therefore "implies the existence of 'authorship'", and has done so both at a time when the modern notion did not yet exist, and recently, when it appears no longer to exist in its traditional contours" (xii).

For Randall, the legitimacy of any specific act of textual repetition has varied historically. Moreover, plagiarism exists symbiotically alongside the literary conventions that might be seen to define it:

[i]t has been well demonstrated by theorists, from the early Russian formalists

to Bourdieu, that the contours of the literary are continually being reshaped from inside, most often by forces of contestation and revolution that intend to transgress and overturn precisely those conventions that are perceived to be the most highly codified. In this way, while a concept of 'plagiarism' has always been situated solidly beyond the acceptable limits of the literary, the tolerance for actual literary practices is constantly being reformed by the force of those practices themselves (7-8).

Randall uses Foucault's concept of the "author function" (described in the 1969 essay "What Is an Author?") to develop an understanding of plagiarism as a concept that varies over time and which both predates and outlives "modern" authorship. This is shaped for Randall by an understanding of the absence of the author following its "structuralist execution" — which left literary criticism "with an intentional vacuum" — and also the poststructuralist understanding that this "'disappearance' of the author was essentially an ideological move that forced the critic to displace the presuppositions of intentionality onto other realms" (56).

Foucault contrasts the historical idea of the author — "the fundamental critical category of 'the man and his work'" — with the way in which contemporary writing refers "only to itself" and "unfolds like a game that invariably goes beyond its own rules and transgresses its own limits" and where "the point is ... a question of creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears" (115-6). The author function, represented by the author's name, "manifests the appearance of a certain discursive set and indicates the status of the discourse within a society and a culture": it "accompanies only certain texts to the exclusion of others", such as a "private letter", a contract, and an "anonymous poster attached to a wall" (124).

Foucault asserts that "[w]e can easily imagine a culture where discourse would circulate without any need for an author": after that moment, instead of asking questions such as "[w]ho is the real author? Have we proof of his authenticity and originality?", we would ask different questions, like "[w]hat are the modes of existence

of this discourse? Where does it come from; how is it circulated; who controls it? What placements are determined for possible subjects? Who can fulfil these diverse functions of the subject”? (138). Foucault concludes with a final question, and stresses its indifference: “[w]hat matter who’s speaking?” (138).

Randall picks up Foucault’s argument when she contends that “the author’s attributes are those of a discursive function, rather than of an individual subject” (20). Moreover, the perception of plagiarism is always predicated on “a notion of authorship entailing concepts of propriety, if not property, over discursive or intellectual products” (20). Indeed, plagiarists are authors “who are seen to have transgressed or left unfulfilled the cultural function authorship defines for them” (20). A plagiarist, for Randall, is therefore seen as “a ‘subject’ striving towards the creation of an ‘authentic,’ unified identity, or one radically decanted and divided against itself” (20). This understanding of the plagiaristic author facilitates a more general understanding of the way in which citation contributes to *In Memoriam*’s poetics, one which can be illustrated with further reference to the *TLS* debate.

In a letter that Hugh Gordon Porteus had published in the *TLS* on 28 January 1965, Porteus claimed that a passage from *In Memoriam* had been “lifted intact from something I had written twenty years earlier ... Intact, but typographically rearranged” (87). The passage is included in the first section of *In Memoriam*:

— When a Chinese calligrapher ‘copies’
The work of an old master it is not
A forged facsimile but an interpretation
As personal within stylistic limits
As a Samuel or Landowska performance
Of a Bach partita (765)

While Porteus considers MacDiarmid to be a serial rearranger of prose, he does not infer that MacDiarmid’s resulting work should be considered to be an act of plagiarism and therefore invalidated. Indeed, in a further letter published on 4 February 1965

Porteus refers to MacDiarmid's use of textual repetition as a "valid extension of our own traditional poetic license" (87).

Porteus's argument initiated an exchange between multiple contributors that introduced a number of questions regarding the formal status of *In Memoriam*. These questions are centred in part on competing definitions of what poetry is and what it can be. In this sense, they represent a useful exploration of the broader critical dynamic discussed in Chapter One, whereby the reliance by critics upon New Critical approaches led to *In Memoriam* being devalued and disregarded. But, conversely, they also suggest how *In Memoriam* might be read as an example of avant garde twentieth century poetry.

In a letter published in the *TLS* on 18 February the critic John Sparrow contends that while MacDiarmid's transformation of Jones's prose means that "Perfect" "acquires the unity of an independent work of art", that text "is still not verse, and no more poetry than it was before" (127). Moreover, for Sparrow MacDiarmid's transformation of Porteus's "Chinese calligrapher" passage involves little more than "destroying a decent bit of prose, without producing poetry or verse" (127). But Edwin Morgan (in a letter published on 4 February) holds the opposite to be true. Indeed, he observes that before Glen Jones's unwitting contribution critics who were now maligning "Perfect" had held the text in high regard:

Can prose become poetry through typographical rearrangement? I rather think it can, but it would be interesting to learn whether ... critics would stick to their guns in having singled out the present worrisome little fragment (if it is a fragment) for particular praise as poetry (67).

Even though Sparrow does not consider MacDiarmid's transformation of prose sources to amount to the creation of poetry, he does accept that it is possible for such transformations to be successful in this way. He gives as examples various fore-runners of contemporary concrete poetry, such as Mallarmé's 1897 work *Un Coup de Dés Jamais N'Abolira Le Hasard* and Apollinaire's *Calligrammes* of 1918 (127).

Sparrow goes on to offer further examples from contemporary poetry, all of which he takes from the two special “Changing Guard” issues of the TLS that had been published in the previous year. These focused on the avant garde in literature, and included “Special Statements” by William S. Burroughs, who writes on the cut-up technique, and Marshall McLuhan, who provides an article on “Culture and Technology” in which he argues that “[t]he gap between art and technology has now ceased to exist”, an idea that — as I will describe in Chapter Three of this thesis — has a specific resonance for the thematic underpinnings of *In Memoriam*’s own approach (773). The “Changing Guard” issues also included three concrete poems by Ian Hamilton Finlay, an extract from Eduardo Paolozzi’s artist’s book *Metafisikal Translations*, two procedurally generated poems by Jackson Mac Low, and four anagrammatic and concrete works by Morgan himself (675).

It seems, then, that even while Sparrow rejects the idea that MacDiarmid has been successful in his attempt to transform prose material into poetry, he evaluates this attempt in broadly the same terms used by Morgan. This suggests that the work that MacDiarmid creates through the transformation of prose sources might helpfully be thought of in terms of what Randall terms “the postmodern imitative impulse” (220). This differs from earlier forms of textual repetition, in that it

can be seen as the logical outcome of a subject position that has lost the attributes fundamentally constitutive of the modern notion of authorship ... if the development of authorship and its modern attributes is seen, as it usually is, as concomitant to the rise of the individual ‘subject’ throughout the eighteenth century, then the demise of this same subject must entail an accompanying decline of authorship, manifested first of all in the loss of its attributes, of which originality, authenticity, and authority are the most important” (220)

In this approach Randall follows the way in which both Foucault signals a decline in “the confidence placed in individual agency and control over discourse that involves, inevitably, a belief in the possibility of creative originality” (24). However, considering

MacDiarmid's later work in this way may create a chronological problem in the way that it potentially disregards the extended composition process of the urtext from which *In Memoriam* was composed. Can a text that was partly composed in the 1930s helpfully be thought of as postmodern? And how would this delineation of *In Memoriam* impact the attempt to present citation — whether from books, periodicals, or reference works such as dictionaries — as central to MacDiarmid's work going back to the early 1920s?

Late modernism

While Randall's understanding of plagiarism as a pragmatic concept is a helpful way to engage with MacDiarmid's citational poetics, her characterisation of the types of textual practices that are most similar to those deployed in *In Memoriam* as "postmodern" presents both historical and theoretical difficulties with regards to framing an understanding of this aspect of MacDiarmid's work. Historically, Randall's understanding of postmodernism locates it as having originated in the middle of the twentieth century. While *In Memoriam* was first published in 1955 and could therefore be thought of as being situated towards the beginning of this "postmodern" period, much of the text had been completed by the late 1930s or early 1940s, deploying techniques that MacDiarmid had been using since the early 1920s. Moreover, the way in which this thesis argues that the use of citation in MacDiarmid's later work develops in response to the changing status of English as a global language in the 1920s and 1930s means that my argument is historically grounded in a way that contradicts Randall's own grounding of the framework that I am using to develop an understanding of that use of citation.

In the context of using Randall's work to understand the way in which MacDiarmid uses citation it is therefore helpful to extend the consideration of such practices beyond the framing provided by the term "postmodern". Such an approach can be found in the work of the critic Marjorie Perloff, and especially her description

of what she terms “late modernism”. Quoting the critic James E. B. Breslin and the editor of the influential 1960 collection of post-war experimental writing, *The New American Poetry 1945-1960*, Donald Allen, Perloff has described how “by the late 1950s the ‘hermetically sealed space of the autonomous symbolist poem’ was giving way to the radical ‘new energies’ of Black Mountain and San Francisco, the New York poets and the Beats — ‘The Postmoderns’ as Allen called them” (*21st-Century* 2). However, for Perloff the kind of work included in *The New American Poetry* can now be read as being “less revolution than restoration: a carrying-on, in somewhat diluted form, of the avant-garde project that had been at the very heart of early modernism” or as an expression of how “the avant-garde momentum of the early decades of the twentieth century has found new channels” (*21st-Century* 3, 164). For Perloff, the “modern/postmodern divide” is relegated to a position of being “more apparent than real” and Perloff argues, instead, that “the aesthetic of early modernism has provided the seeds of the materialist poetic which is increasingly our own” (*21st-Century* 164).

There are clear parallels between Perloff’s formulation of late modernism and the techniques used by MacDiarmid in the composition of *In Memoriam*. Indeed, the focus of Perloff’s commentary (“the radical ‘new energies’ of Black Mountain”, etc.) evokes both Morgan’s approach to *In Memoriam* and Roderick Watson’s observation that MacDiarmid’s later work has “something in common with contemporary developments, particularly in American verse”, whereby the text’s structure is “always referring us back ... to the world before us” (*Hugh* 91-2). Moreover, Perloff’s approach sidesteps the potential pitfalls implied by Randall’s historicisation of post-modern plagiarism, and also provides an historical backdrop that is particularly suited to understanding *In Memoriam*. For Perloff, the antecedents of this “late modernist” poetics include “the notion that a replica of one’s earlier work, miniaturized and rearranged, could itself be a new art work”, as expressed in conceptualist works such as Marcel Duchamp’s “The”, which “looks ahead to concrete poetry”; and the Objectivist poet Louis Zukofsky’s 1926 work “Poem Beginning ‘The’”, which is made up

of 330 lines that are primarily citations from other texts, including the work of Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, and François Villon (21st-Century 94-5). Other examples given by Perloff of the ways in which citational poetics have influenced late modernism include Eliot's own work in *The Waste Land* (Perloff describes a section from the end of the poem as a "collage of nursery rhyme, Dante's *Purgatorio*, the *Perivigilum Veneris*, and Gerard de Nerval" (*Unoriginal* 2)), Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project*, an "ur-hypertext" of a "quarter of a million words" of which "at least 75 per cent are direct transcriptions" of other texts (*Unoriginal* 31, 27), and Kenneth Goldsmith's conceptualist, "uncreative" poetics, as deployed in works such as *Traffic* (2007), which uses as its raw material twenty-four hours of traffic reports from New York City's WINS radio station (*Unoriginal* 147).

Perloff's reframing of postmodernism as late modernism as the "carrying-on ... of the avant garde project that had been at the very heart of early modernism" can be used to modify Randall's approach so that it provides an even more appropriate way to understand MacDiarmid's use of citation: and, therefore, to understand *In Memoriam*. This modified approach follows Riach's suggestion that we "relinquish the critical ideal of an organically unified poem" and "admit the failure" of the "kind of critical procedure" that assumes the necessity or desirability of such "organic unity": that is, those critical procedures that have struggled to account for MacDiarmid's later work and have therefore not been able to present an holistic analysis of MacDiarmid's entire career (*Epic* 41).

But it also provides a more appropriate chronology for *In Memoriam* as a text that was composed over a period of more than 20 years by a poet whose earlier poetics were heavily influenced by literary high modernism, but which was completed and published in the year that also marked the emergence of the Beat poets. As Alan Riach has argued, while "MacDiarmid began writing as a modernist", unlike many other modernist writers he "continued to write and, crucially, altered the modes of his writing at least until the 1950s (and, indeed, later)" to the extent that he "comes

across the division which critics have described as lying between ‘modernism’ and ‘postmodernism’” (*Epic* 110-111). Indeed, Perloff’s characterisation of the “fate of first-stage modernism” as “one of deferral, its radical and utopian aspirations being cut off” as a result of two world wars, the Cold War, and various other crises that resulted from the totalitarian political projects of the twentieth century is particularly suited to text with *In Memoriam*’s repeatedly deferred composition and publication processes (*21st-Century* 164, 200, 3).

Finally, Perloff’s understanding of the ways in which the work of writers such as the Oulipo poet Christian Bök have shown how “the ‘literary’ can now absorb the most curious bits of scientific documentation” is useful in a consideration of the range of difference sources that are cited in *In Memoriam* (*Unoriginal* xii). As Riach has argued, MacDiarmid “does not entirely relinquish the securities of certain modernist strategies”, but some of these strategies — Riach gives the example of the coherent individuality of the modernist poetic voice — are “complicated, if not completely undermined, by their being produced through the words of others” (*Epic* 111). While Marilyn Randall’s description of the relationship between textual copying, plagiarism, and authorship presents the most complete approach to the way in which *In Memoriam* makes use of citation, Perloff’s work can be used helpfully to decouple Randall’s approach from a chronology that struggles to account for *In Memoriam*’s composition process and the text’s location within MacDiarmid’s poetic career as a whole. The result of this modification of Randall’s approach also brings it closer in line with the work of critics who have provided the most constructive analyses of *In Memoriam*, such as Morgan, Watson, Riach, and Herbert.

With this wide-angle conception of the implications of *In Memoriam*’s use of citation in place, it is necessary next to consider the specific ways in which the text makes use of individual instances of citation and to develop a critical vocabulary with which to describe them.

Describing In Memoriam's citations

The instances of citation that are present in *In Memoriam* can be helpfully located within the overlap that exists between Gérard Genette's concepts of intertextuality and hypertextuality. However, the relationship between these concepts and *In Memoriam's* use of citation is complicated. Genette describes both terms in his 1982 work *Palimpsestes*, which was translated into English in 1997 as *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. In *Palimpsests*, Genette describes intertextuality (a term he borrows from Julia Kristeva) and hypertextuality as being two of the five distinct types of what he terms "transtextuality": that is, "the textual transcendence of the text", or "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (1-5). For Genette, intertextuality describes "a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts ... typically as the actual presence of one text within the other" such as quoting, plagiarism, or allusion (1-2). While hypertextuality is thematically related to its most common current usage — that is, a system of interconnected electronic documents — it is a distinct and more involved concept. Genette defines it as referring to "any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary" (5).

While the way in which *In Memoriam* incorporates (or "grafts") material from other texts may make its hypertextuality seem obvious, Genette's definition is not restricted to such specific examples. However, Genette does impose limits on the meaning of hypertext. It does not include all examples of texts that are "derived from another preexistent text": for example, Genette describes the way in which Aristotle's *Poetics* "'speaks' about" Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* as "a derivation ... of a descriptive or intellectual kind"; that is, the "commentary" that is specifically excluded from the definition of hypertextuality and is described instead as an example of metatextuality (5). By contrast, hypertexts are "unable to exist" without the preexistence of a hypotext source, from which they emerge via a process that Genette refers to as

“transformation” (5). Hypertextuality therefore includes “genres such as pastiche, parody, travesty” (8-9).

Genette observes that by this definition, the *Aeneid* and *Ulysses* are both hypertexts of the *Odyssey* (5). But Genette distinguishes between the types of transformation that are occurring in each case. The “simple or direct transformation”, or simply “transformation, that occurs in *Ulysses* differs from the “indirect transformation” or “imitation” that can be detected in the *Aeneid*, since the former “consists in transposing the action of the *Odyssey* to twentieth-century Dublin” while in the latter, Virgil “tells an entirely different story: the adventures of Aeneas, not those of Ulysses” (5-7).

While Genette observes that hypertextuality is “to some degree a universal feature of literarity”, he stresses that “some works are more [hypertextual] than others” (8-9). Genette focuses on examples of hypertextuality “in which the shift from hypotext to hypertext is both massive (an entire work B deriving from an entire work A) and more or less officially stated” and “[l]eaving aside ... any local and/or optional hypertextuality”, which Genette regards as being closer to intertextuality (9-10).

In Memoriam certainly fulfils some aspects of Genette’s definition of hypertextuality: it is a series of relationships “uniting a text B ... to an earlier text A ... upon which is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary”, and the hypertext of *In Memoriam* would certainly be “unable to exist” without its hypotext sources (5). But its hypertextuality is not “massive”, since it derives from multiple works; and while MacDiarmid’s earlier works such as *Annals of the Five Senses* could be said to have “officially stated” their hypertextuality, this is often not the case with *In Memoriam*. But at the same time, *In Memoriam*’s hypertextuality is not the “local and/or optional” variety that Genette’s work specifically excludes. And, furthermore, thinking of *In Memoriam*’s use of citation solely as an example of intertextuality fails to capture the “massive” extent of the use of citation in a text that is almost entirely composed through citation, rather than being an original work that makes some use of quotation

or allusion. Moreover, Genette's definition of intertextuality cannot be used to describe the transformations that MacDiarmid carries out on his source material before it is incorporated within *In Memoriam*, a process that is central to Genette's definition of hypertextuality. Therefore, when I use Genette's terminology relating to hypertextuality in this thesis, I am describing a feature of MacDiarmid's poetics that exists somewhere between hypertextuality and intertextuality, but which is closer in spirit to hypertextuality.

My use of the term hypertextuality also includes some instances of "grafting" that Genette might consider to be "in a manner ... of commentary" (5). I include these instances because in *In Memoriam* — as opposed to the academic or critical works where we would perhaps be more likely to expect the kind of commentary to which Genette is referring — examples of what might strictly be considered to be commentary under Genette's definitions occur in the context of a range of voices which can themselves be located in varying frameworks of irony and authenticity. In these circumstances the distinction between commentary and non-commentary becomes significantly less meaningful than it is in the context that Genette considers, to the extent that sections of *In Memoriam* that may appear on one level to be "commentary" are better understood to be, in Genette's sense, non-commentary. Furthermore, many grafts in *In Memoriam* make use of hypotexts which themselves deploy their own grafts, such as book reviews that quote from the books they are reviewing. While Genette's strict definition of hypertext would exclude book reviews on the grounds that they are examples of "commentary", in the context of *In Memoriam* such exclusions would remove the distinction between a graft that makes use of a specific hypotext and a graft that uses a quotation from that hypotext in a book review. Removing this distinction would be specifically unhelpful in the many instances when MacDiarmid claims or implies that he is quoting from a specific text when external evidence suggests that he is in fact quoting from a review of that text which itself includes a quotation from the text that MacDiarmid is referencing. In the

context of *In Memoriam*, then, considering the inclusion of quotations in book reviews for the purposes of commentary as an example of hypertext facilitates a more nuanced reading of the ways in which these quotations are included.

Once Genette's understanding of hypertextuality is modified in these ways, it provides a helpful vocabulary that can be used to describe and distinguish between the ways in which *In Memoriam* incorporates material from its source texts. The text in fact uses five different types of graft. The first type is the directed, cited quotation of a hypotext as attributed epigraphs, such as those included at the beginning of *In Memoriam* and at the beginning of a number of its sections. The second is the incorporation of a hypotext within the main body of *In Memoriam*, within quotation marks and with an attribution: for example, the quotation from Marcel Raymond that begins "Let us regard modern poetry", which a footnote indicates is taken from Raymond's *From Baudelaire to Surrealism* (744, 744n1). The third type of graft is similar to the second, but does not include attribution; examples include the inclusion of a line from "Tradition and the Individual Talent" in the first stanza-paragraph of *In Memoriam*: "We who are concerned with 'the living whole / Of all the poetry that has ever been written'" (738). The fourth type involves the incorporation of a source text with attribution, but without the use of specific typography to distinguish the source text from the text that immediately precedes and follows it. For example, the lines "The production of vocal tone in the various / Sinuses of the head and face and not by means of the vocal cords" in the second stanza-paragraph are immediately followed by a superscript "2", which directs the reader to a footnote: "Vide *Sinus Tone Production* by Ernest George White (London, 1938)"; however, it is not obvious whether the footnote implies that the text to which it refers is a direct quotation, or whether White's text is here being drawn on in a less specific way (746, 746n2). And these hypotexts are incorporated by a fifth and final type of graft, where the text is not set off typographically from the text that surrounds it, and there is no citation to indicate its origins. This is the most common type of graft used in *In Memoriam*, and also — in

the context of the *TLS* plagiarism debate — the most controversial. It involves the incorporation of a hypotext without the inclusion of a citation, attribution, footnote, or any other indication that the *In Memoriam* hypertext draws on it in this way. One of the most striking examples of this type of graft is the way in which the thirteen page fourth section of the text, “England is Our Enemy”, is taken almost entirely from Ford Madox Ford’s 1924 essay “Stocktaking: towards a Re-valuation of English Literature”. While the section includes a number of footnotes and provides attributions for its other hypotexts, it makes no explicit reference to either Ford or his essay.

While Genette’s work can be used to identify and categorise the different types of graft used in the composition of *In Memoriam*, it does not elucidate the process by which hypotexts come to be included within its hypertext. I divide this process into three subprocedures: selection, transformation, and combination. By “selection”, I mean the process by which each hypotext is selected in preference to other potential hypotexts for inclusion at a specific point in the hypertext. However, once a specific hypotext is selected, it is not introduced to the hypertext through a simple process of replication. Instead, it is modified by a “transformation” of a greater or lesser degree of complexity. The most common type of transformation in *In Memoriam* is the addition of line breaks to “versify” prose hypotexts; other transformations include the omission of passages from a hypotext — so the first fifty words may be included, directly followed by words 101 to 150, but with words 51 to 100 omitted — or the rearrangement, modification, or deletion of individual words or smaller groups of words. And by “combination”, I mean the way in which each transformed hypotext is added to the hypertext alongside all of its other transformed hypotexts, creating a shifting network of interrelations and juxtapositions.

Conclusion

At the start of this chapter I used *In Memoriam*’s composition and publication history to ground an understanding of the text that is based on its use of citation and on

Marilyn Randall's work on plagiarism and authorship. While Randall identifies the sort of textual repetition that is central to *In Memoriam*'s poetics as a specifically post-modern practise, I have used Marjorie Perloff's understanding of "late modernism" in order to modify this approach so that it is better suited to the chronology of *In Memoriam*'s composition and publication and also to the identification of continuities in MacDiarmid's overall poetic output.

I then used Genette's work to conceptualise the ways in which *In Memoriam* incorporates other texts, and to provide a typology of the different varieties of citation the text uses. As part of this typology, I developed a critical language that allows me to describe *In Memoriam*'s individual citations in terms of the way they are selected from their original sources, transformed through (for example) the addition, removal, or rearrangement of material, and combined with other transformed sources. While there have been few critical engagements that have examined *In Memoriam*'s use of citation in this way, two notable exceptions are Kenneth Buthlay's "The Ablach in the Golden Pavilion" and Walter Perrie's "Prosody and Politics in *In Memoriam James Joyce*". Buthlay analyses a 59-line passage from the first section of *In Memoriam* ("Let the only consistency ... In these gold pavilions"), highlighting how it has been developed from John Smellie Martin's 1924 novel *Orchardford* (756-8). Perrie considers the first twelve lines of the Karl Krauss passage, which MacDiarmid had taken from an 8 May 1953 *TLS* article — in a similar way.

While both critics demonstrate that the creative effort that underpins such work means that it cannot be replicated at random — as an example, Perrie tries, and fails, to imitate MacDiarmid's technique by using a randomly chosen passage from Richard Hoggart's *Speaking to Each Other* — neither Buthlay nor Perrie grounds MacDiarmid's approach in the historical and cultural circumstances from which it emerged, or attempts to understand the aims behind the way in which MacDiarmid makes use of citation in *In Memoriam*. This is the focus of the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Three

Thus far in this thesis I have argued that an holistic understanding of MacDiarmid's poetic output can be facilitated through understanding the way in which *In Memoriam James Joyce* makes use of citation as a compositional method. This chapter grounds the abstract theoretical implications of *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics within a broader intellectual context. It argues, firstly, that those poetics are an example of what Marilyn Randall has described as "guerrilla plagiarism". Then, with reference to MacDiarmid's prose work and to work by Abram de Swaan and David Crystal on global languages — and, in particular, English as a global language — I show how MacDiarmid's citational poetics can be read as a response to a nexus of historical developments connected to the rise of global English. Through further consideration of *In Memoriam*'s composition process, I demonstrate how despite MacDiarmid's apparent isolation on Whalsay between 1933 and 1942 — that is, during the period within which much of *In Memoriam* was composed — the composition of the text was greatly influenced by the interconnectedness that had given rise to and developed as a result of the evolution of global English. Finally, I connect MacDiarmid's preoccupation with integrating scientific and technological discourse into his work with Foucault's analysis of the specific role played by the author function in scientific texts, and with questions raised in the *TLS* debate regarding what texts should or should not be considered to be "poetic".

Historical plagiarism

In addition to her work on plagiarism and authorship, Marilyn Randall develops a second set of theoretical implications from her understanding of plagiarism as a

pragmatic concept. These theoretical implications are grounded in a more historicised understanding of plagiarism, which can be used to better understand the origins and implications of the citational poetics deployed in *In Memoriam*. For Randall,

As literature articulates the larger social, historical, political, and economic structures in which it is embedded and which are determining of the field, so, too, plagiarism expresses structures of and struggles for power that implicate far more than the individual agents or victims. (90)

Randall goes on to trace the history of the metaphors used to describe plagiarism and observes that while “plagiarism has continuously been seen as a form of conquest”, “‘conquest’ has not, historically, always been seen in the same ethical light” (190). The way in which a society views conquest therefore goes some way to determining how it views plagiarism. For example, the earliest uses of the conquest metaphor equate it not with plagiarism per se, but with translation. Randall argues that historically these were “both terms of positive connotations in which the political dominance of foreign territories was accompanied by the civilizing effects of the foreign culture on one’s own linguistic and cultural identity”, such as with “the Latin conquest of Greece and the European cultural ‘conquest’ of the ancients” (191).

Indeed, Randall observes that

From the time of the Roman conquest of Greece, the importation of the foreign culture was an extension of the imperial victory; translation was ‘invented’ by the Romans as a strategy for transforming the superior culture of the conquered nation into the culture of the conquerors. (191)

Randall contrasts this with “later European colonisation of the New World”, which “established the hierarchy of the civilised conqueror over the savage conquered in the imposition of a culture/language on the other” (191). Moreover, translation provides a further example of Randall’s understanding, via Foucault, of the relationship between textual repetition and authorship. As Randall argues, with specific reference to Stendhal’s translation of Carpani’s *Life of Haydn* from Italian to French, which Stendhal

published (under the pseudonym Bombet) without crediting Carpani's work:

What is produced in the translation is, on the one hand, an 'I' bereft of its empirical referent and thus fully constituted by its textual apparition but, on the other hand, this 'I' is subsequently informed by the new signature, which in Stendhal's case is, of course, complicated by his multiple pseudonyms ... [h]is 'translation' is a conquest in the form of a radical assimilation of the other; but this absorption and eradication enact in turn a profound transformation of the self. (202)

For Randall, while the "Roman theory of translation-as-conquest resurfaces with particular pertinence during the Renaissance" with the development of European nation-states, the relationship between plagiarism and conquest is then complicated further (192). While "[c]onquest, colonialism, and imperialism have no more gone out of style than has plagiarism", "like plagiarism over the years, they have been discursively transformed and euphemized by metaphors such as 'free trade,' 'the globalisation of capital,' 'the new world order,' and 'the free flow of information.'" (202). The conquest metaphor is still used, but always in order to condemn plagiarism: "accusations of cultural imperialism challenge the right of an author to appropriate material from one cultural context into another, and defend the authenticity of 'voice' in cultural expression": the idea of imperial conquest now has "unremittingly negative connotations as it is transformed from the traditional military realm to those of economy, information, and culture" (202; 217).

In this new context, plagiarism can be deployed as "a positive antidote to the evils of cultural imperialism", one that extends to offer "a general critique of power and property in diverse contexts" (217). Randall describes this new form of textual repetition as "guerrilla plagiarism", a technique that is deployed by the "post-Romantic appropriative artist" even though they are aware that this is not "the proper way to be creative" (220). Randall frames guerilla plagiarism within the work of Jean Baudrillard ("as simulacrum in a process of reproduction of images embedded in a consumer

society”), Linda Hutcheon (“as parody performing a ‘critical relation to the “world” of discourse”) and Fredric Jameson (“as pastiche, the result of the ‘disappearance of the individual subject’ and the ensuing ‘unavailability of the personal style’”); it intersects, moreover, with the opposition between Romantic and avant grade models of poetry that are established in the *TLS* debate in the context of the creation of poetry from prose sources (219).

Amongst the examples of guerilla plagiarism given by Randall are the Québécois writer Hubert Aquin’s novel *Trou de mémoire* and the Malian writer Yambo Ouloguem’s novel *Le devoir de violence*. For Randall, both works demonstrate “the subjectless position of the colonized individual” (221). In *Trou de mémoire*, Aquin “thematizes problems of authorial identity, authenticity, and plagiarism, as each successive narrator glosses and contradicts the former, accusing each other of falsifying the autobiographical discourse that comprises the principal text, of inserting apocryphal writing, and of plagiarism” (235). Moreover, Randall observes that studies of Aquin’s work “have uncovered considerable ‘plagiarisms’, ... notably from historical, scientific, or encyclopedic sources”, while his “extra-functional commentary is explicit ... about a kind of collage technique of rewriting” (235). One example of this is the way in which Aquin evokes “the Mallarmean ‘elocutory disappearance of the author’” in order to question “the role of authorial subjectivity in the writing — and consequently reading — process” (236). On the other hand, Randall describes how Ouloguem’s novel was lauded by the literary community for its “‘authentic Africanness’”, only for critics to later discover that parts of the text had been copied from the work of, amongst others, Graham Greene and André Schwartz-Bart. Randall notes that some critics have viewed *Le devoir de violence* as “an early enactment of contemporary post-colonial theories of cultural hybridity”, and goes on to argue that “the connection between the condition of the colonized writer as non-subject and the necessity of plagiarism was clearly and explicitly present in [Ouloguem’s] imagination” (207, 239).

English as a global language

The citational poetics that MacDiarmid develops in *In Memoriam* are in part an extended deployment of guerilla plagiarism in response to his perception of a set of historical developments that are each related to the changing status of English as a global language. My understanding of global English follows the work of Abram de Swaan and David Crystal. De Swaan uses world systems theory to conceptualise all “[f]ive or six thousand” languages as “a global constellation” (3). He organises this constellation in terms of its interconnectedness, with one language being connected to another by way of those people who are proficient in both. Organising languages in this way “displays a strongly ordered, hierarchical pattern”, with some languages being more interconnected than others (4).

On this basis, 98 per cent of languages are “peripheral”; together, these thousands of languages are “used by less than 10 per cent of humankind” (4). Two speakers of different peripheral languages will tend to communicate via a third, “central” language (4). While there are only “about one hundred” central languages, “[t]ogether they are used by some 95 per cent of humankind” (4). Above the central languages are the twelve “supercentral” languages that serve to connect them, all but one of which is spoken by over one hundred million people (5). But above the supercentral languages is only one “hypercentral language” that connects those languages below it: English, the sole “language of global communication” (6).

De Swaan historicises this abstract understanding of interlingual networks, observing that a map of the present-day global language system would closely resemble “a composite of political maps for the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries” (10). Moreover, the continuing influence of former colonial languages means that the African part of this map would “not look very different from the [corresponding] political map of, say, 1920” (11). The map of European languages is also very similar to the political map of the early twentieth century; other patterns can be observed in different parts of the globe (11-17). Moreover, the central and

supercentral languages becomes “languages of record”, often being “used in politics, in the bureaucracy and in the courts”, usually as national languages or “official languages of the state”, appearing “in print, in newspapers, in textbooks and in fiction” as well as being “spoken on radio, on cassettes and increasingly on television” (4-5).

All of this contributes to what de Swaan terms the “political economy of language”: that is, “the preferences people have for learning one language rather than another” (18). Historically, these preferences have been determined by “unequal relations”, such as when “the defeated and the dominated adopted the language of their conquerors and rulers” (25). More recently, “formal education has greatly accelerated the spread of a few world languages (25). But in both cases, “Languages are learned ‘upwards’: from the small to the large language, from the little to the great tradition” (25). From the point of view of economics, languages can be understood as a “hypercollective” good: that is, the value of a language increases as its number of users grows (31-2).

Within this understanding of language, texts come to be viewed as commodities that can be exchanged within and between different language groups. However, the exchange of texts between two different language groups is predicated on either translation or bilingualism. The producers of texts in the more peripheral languages must therefore adopt either the “cosmopolitan strategy” — using “a more widely spread second language” and competing “with many more producers in a much larger market” — or the “local strategy” — sticking with their first language and competing “with only a few others for a much more restricted public” (41). The cosmopolitan strategy can lead to fears that the more peripheral first language will disappear, along with the “cultural practices and products” that are embedded within it: at the extreme, this can lead to “linguistic imperialism” and “global cultural hegemony” (42). However, the local strategy may not prevent this on its own, since native speakers of a more peripheral language are incentivised to learn a more central language, thereby creating a market for texts in that language within their peripheral language commu-

nity. And, because of the hypercollective nature of language, this increases the value of the more central language, thereby making it even more attractive to speakers of more peripheral languages, an effect that potentially leads to the exponential increase in the value of the more central language at the relative expense of the value of the more peripheral languages.

While de Swaan focuses on the detail of the processes through which any language achieves its position within the global language constellation, David Crystal's work is concerned with the historical context within which English has achieved its particular hypercentral position. The hypercentrality of English gives it a special, unique status as a global language. Crystal contends that a language can be considered to be global "when it develops a special role that is recognised in every country", either through being made "the official language of a country" or by being given "priority in a country's foreign language teaching" (3-4). For Crystal, there are multiple reasons why a language might be adopted in these ways, including "historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact": that is, the adoption of one or other version of the cosmopolitan strategy described by de Swaan (5).

The status English has as a global language (and the status other global languages have had in the past) is determined far less by its linguistic structure — irrespective of how easy or difficult this makes English to learn — or by the number of people who speak it, than by "who those speakers are" (7). Historically, Latin became an international language because of the military power of the Romans, and then had this status sustained by the ecclesiastical power of the Roman Catholic church. Crystal contends that while political and military power are usually important in terms of how a language becomes an international language, the maintenance and expansion of an already international language is determined largely by economic power (9-10). On one level, Crystal contends that the rise of English as a specifically *global* language — as opposed to a merely international one — largely took place

in the second half of the twentieth century (xii). However, he is clear that the rise of a global language was specifically predicated on the economic globalisation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which was itself “supported by the new communication technologies — telegraph, telephone, radio” and which led in turn to “an explosion of international marketing and advertising” and “unprecedented levels” of power for firstly “the press” and then “the broadcast media” (10). Indeed, for Crystal the print media and advertising were deeply intertwined by as early as the 1890s, with cheap publications heavily subsidised by advertising which quickly took up over half of the pages in many publications — not to mention the “outdoor media” of “[p]osters, billboards, electric displays, shop signs and other techniques” then developed internationally to become “one of the most noticeable global manifestations of English language use” (94).

Technological progress also directly contributed to the ongoing development of global English in the way in which it “fostered an international intellectual and research environment which gave scholarship and further education a high profile”, as well as contributing more indirectly by developing the “movies and records” of the “new mass entertainment industries” (10). For example, the first radio broadcasts began in the early 1920s, with 200,000 households in the United Kingdom licensed to receive radio transmissions by 1923; this number rose by a steady half million per year (outwith the years of the Second World War) to a peak, in 1950, of 11.8 million licensed households. Television broadcasts began in the UK in 1929. The adoption rate for the new medium was slower than it had been for radio: in 1936 there were only 100 television sets in the UK, and broadcasts were available only within a 40 mile radius of Alexandra Palace in north London; when television broadcasts were suspended by the Second World War in September 1939, fewer than 10,000 television sets had been sold. It took until Elizabeth II’s coronation on 2 June 1953 for an event to attract more television viewers than radio listeners, but in the same year more televisions were made in the UK than radios for the first time. The 1954 Television

Act ended the BBC's monopoly on television broadcasting, and in September 1955, a few weeks before the publication in Glasgow of *In Memoriam James Joyce*, Associated-Rediffusion began broadcasting to London; by 1958 more television licenses were being sold than radio licenses.

The development and consolidation of global English in the first half of the twentieth century and its massive expansion in the second half of the twentieth century were driven largely by the rise of the United States as an economic superpower (59). The use of English in advertising, for example, was dominated by American companies, and within America itself far more advertising was produced than was produced in Britain: 2.6 per cent of gross national income in 1953, compared to only 1.5 per cent in the same year (94-5). The BBC's Empire Service launched in 1932, only to be renamed — following, in response to the Munich Crisis of 1938, the addition of programming in Arabic, French, Italian, and German — the BBC Overseas Service in 1939, and joined by a specific BBC European Service in 1941; it took its current name, the BBC World Service, in 1965 (97). While the USA's external broadcasting service, The Voice of America, was not launched until 1942, it quickly overtook the Overseas Service to become the main provider of international English-language radio broadcasts (97-8). The development of the film industry mirrored this, with the early progress made by Britain and France being interrupted by the First World War and dominance soon passing to the United States (98). From 1915, America produced “the feature film, the star system, the movie mogul, and the grand studio”; this meant that when sound began to be added to films in the late 1920s, English became the medium's predominant language (99). The international use of English in popular music begins even earlier, its roots arguably present in the influence the British music hall had on European popular culture in the nineteenth century; in contrast to other forms of mass media, the development of popular music as part of the rise of English as a global language in the second half of the twentieth century was dominated by Britain rather than by the United States (102).

Crystal acknowledges, however, that in addition to functioning as a medium of communication, language also serves to create and maintain individual and group identities (84-5). Throughout the development of the British Empire, the English language is presented and viewed as “a guarantor, as well as a symbol, of political unity”; conversely, the political symbolism of language “emerges every time people perceive the unity of their country to be threatened by minority movements” (79). Moreover, while English introduced a “new, unifying medium of communication” within many colonies in the British Empire, it also reflected “the bonds between that colony” and the colonial power (79). Indeed, throughout its rise to become a — indeed, *the* — global language, “there is hardly any conscious justification for the role of English”: for example, when radio broadcasting began, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, “no one seems to have spent any time debating whether or not they should broadcast in English” (84). Such reflection began later in the twentieth century, as decolonisation led to the questioning of the status of English, especially when it threatened the existence of another language (84). Crystal notes the inevitability, in the “post-colonial era”, of former colonies reacting against the continuing use of the language of “the former colonial power” (124). In this context, “English has an unhappy colonial resonance in the minds of many”, and is part of a history in which “local languages could easily be treated with contempt” (125). However, the tendency to reject English on these grounds has often clashed with the “need for intelligibility”, which itself creates numerous incentives — not least economic — for retaining English, and Britain’s former colonies have usually done just that (127).

However, for Crystal one significant consequence of English becoming a global language is that “no one can now claim sole ownership” of English: indeed, Crystal contends that the best definition of a global language is probably one where “its usage is not restricted by countries or (as in the case of some artificial languages) by governing bodies” (141). “New Englishes” have developed as the language has spread internationally, with distinct vocabularies and systems of grammar (140). For

Crystal, this means that the “future of world English is likely to be one of increasing multidialectism”, that could even become a “multilingualism” where English “fragment[s] into mutually unintelligible varieties, just as Vulgar Latin did a millennium ago” (177). However, such possibilities are counterpointed by “a whole range of auditory models” being made available through the technological developments that have led to the creation of the global mass media (178). The “need for identity” which drives the creation of the New Englishes could therefore be counteracted by the “need for intelligibility”, which would cause the New Englishes to be “increasingly similar” (178). And, indeed, Crystal cites arguments made by postcolonial writers such as Salman Rushdie and Chinua Achebe regarding the ways in which writers from former colonies can reclaim and refashion English for their purposes without sacrificing international intelligibility (184).

Crystal therefore takes work such as de Swaan’s understanding of international language constellations and understands it in terms of international power dynamics. The existence of global English, as with earlier international languages such as Latin, is a function of power. However, while the spread of Latin was largely the result of political and military power, Crystal emphasises that the transition of English to a genuinely global language is more the result of economic power and a set of interrelated trends and events that contribute to what I will refer to in this thesis — following the work of, amongst others, Thomas J. Misa — as “technological modernity”. Misa bases his work on theorists such as Emile Durkheim, describing modernity in terms of technological mediation, “increased interpersonal contact and communication”, and “increasing rationalisation” (2). This transition originates in nineteenth and twentieth century globalisation, which is itself in a symbiotic relationship with new communication technologies, the mass media (both print and broadcast), advertising, and mass entertainment such as radio, cinema, and television; and throughout much of the twentieth century the consolidation of global English was a result of the emergence of the United States as a superpower.

MacDiarmid's connections to global English

A number of critics have argued that MacDiarmid's poetry — and especially his later work — may helpfully be read in relation to ideas that are themselves connected to global English. In “‘The glow-worm's 96 per cent efficiency’: Hugh MacDiarmid's Poetry of Knowledge” Robert Crawford frames MacDiarmid's use of Scots as not simply a rejection of a language that was connected to Scotland's absorption into Britain, but instead as “a turning from the language of the Empire, globally spoken English” (169). In “Culture and Leisure in Hugh MacDiarmid's ‘On a Raised Beach’”, Michael Whitworth has suggested how “On a Raised Beach” demonstrates a specific awareness of and preoccupation with the radio technology that Crystal identifies as being central to the development of the global status of the English language. Whitworth argues that the poem can be seen to be engaging with radio as a kind of “mass-cultural signal which cannot easily be evaded”, and as something that is symbolic of “the all pervasive effects of cultural standardisation ... a mechanised rationality which suppresses natural human vitality” (125). And in “On Hugh MacDiarmid's *Complete Poems 1920-1976*”, Edwin Morgan contends that later work such as *In Memoriam* and *The Kind of Poetry I Want* argue “for the values of multiplicity” in the sense that “auxiliary international languages, or culturally dominant languages, must never be allowed to hasten the obsolescence of minority cultures” (306). Instead, “people should be taught to develop ‘word-consciousness’ across languages”, something which might be achieved by having languages “constantly quoted, confronted, juxtaposed, compared, [and] praised” (306).

More generally, the development of two technologies Crystal regards as central to the changing status of English as a global language — cinema and television — contextualises the historical period out of which *In Memoriam* emerged. The addition of synchronised audio to silent movies to give sound film, or “talkies”, has been recognised by numerous critics as having a cultural impact that is specifically relevant here. Laura Marcus has summarised this work, contending that during the

period of transition from silent movies to sound films — roughly the late 1920s and early 1930s — the hostility of many critics was directed towards “dialogue and synchronised speech, which had become identified with America’s hegemony” — something which Marcus cites Paul Rotha describing, in 1930, as “her vast scheme ... for capturing the entertainment market of the world”: film, for Rotha, was “becoming a mechanical means of the theatrical presentation of spectacles superior commercially to the stage” (407). By contrast, Marcus observes that silent film “had been a universal medium” that the Hungarian film critic Béla Balázs described as developing “an international universal humanity” that operated as “a kind of visual Esperanto” (407). Marcus contends, moreover, that “[s]ilent film was, at least by aspiration, quintessentially international”, citing Sabine Hake’s assertion that the transition to sound engendered “growing concern with the process of economic concentration and what was perceived as betrayal of the cinema’s original mission as a democratic, international art for the masses” (13).

The chronology of the rise of sound film therefore parallels MacDiarmid’s own transition away from Scots. *The Jazz Singer*, the first feature length sound film, was released in the United States in 1927, a year after the publication of *Drunk Man*. It was released in Europe in 1928, and was followed by the first British (and European) feature length sound film, Alfred Hitchcock’s *Blackmail*, in 1929. By the end of 1930, the year of publication of *Cencrastus*, 60 per cent of cinemas in Britain were equipped to show sound movies, and in 1935 (the first year for which reliable data is available) — the year immediately preceding the publication of “On a Raised Beach” — UK cinema admissions stood at 912.3 million per year.

MacDiarmid would also have been acutely aware of the more direct impact technological modernity was having on the public sphere through the medium of radio. MacDiarmid moved to London to work for Compton Mackenzie’s short-lived magazine *Vox*, which was launched in November 1929 following Mackenzie’s belief that radio would “revolutionize human thought and human action as completely as

did the invention of printing” (qtd. in Bold, *Critical* 276). This optimism is reflected in the first issue of *Vox*, where a message titled “Greetings” is printed in “Scots and Irish Gaelic, Welsh, Manx, Braid Scots ... Channel Islands French” and, lastly, English:

To show his sympathy with these languages ... and his belief that Radio may further their interests, the Editor of VOX is inserting this short paragraph in each in our first number. Space, unfortunately, does not allow a longer message, but pending the time when he may increase the number of our pages and be able to devote more space to these languages, the Editor will be glad to devote a paragraph weekly to a suitable sentiment in each language if readers care to submit one. (18)

Alan Riach has argued that Mackenzie’s multilingual address is a clear statement “about the implications of linguistic imperialism and the metropolitan and centralising character of the then fledgling BBC; as Pound put it in Canto LXXIV: ‘free speech without free radio is as zero.’” (*Epic* 790). Moreover, the page of *Vox* directly facing Mackenzie’s message carries a half-page advert for The Linguaphone Language Institute (the forerunner of the the current Linguaphone company) advertising a “Wonderful Way of Learning Languages by Gramophone”. The headline for the advert features three quotations that are intended to be read as being from Linguaphone’s satisfied customers: “I follow the FRENCH and ITALIAN easily”; “I listen keenly to the GERMAN lectures”; “I enjoy the SPANISH wireless” (19). The early years of radio broadcasting in the United Kingdom were characterised, then, by both the BBC’s monopoly, which it would maintain until 1973, and the potential disruptions that monopoly would face from broadcasts in different languages originating from continental Europe.

MacDiarmid’s response to global English

The contrast between the relative isolation of Whalsay and the ease with which MacDiarmid was able to access the materials he used in the composition of *In Memo-*

riam in fact highlights the reach of global English and its media by this point. Whether this occurred to MacDiarmid or not is a matter of speculation. However, from the 1920s onwards MacDiarmid's prose work is influenced in multiple ways by factors that Crystal argues to be significant contributors to — and results of — the rise of global English. It also shows how MacDiarmid was searching for a new poetics in this period, often in direct response to these contributing factors. Moreover, MacDiarmid's prose work demonstrates how this new poetics would come to be realised in the citational approach that MacDiarmid deploys in late work such as *In Memoriam James Joyce*. *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics therefore responds to global English in the way that Randall describes guerrilla plagiarism as a response of the "post-Romantic appropriative artist" to "the evils of cultural imperialism" in an era where conquest and colonialism have become "euphemized by metaphors" including "free trade" and "the free flow of information": that is, the phenomena that Crystal argues to be root causes of the development of global English (217, 202).

In this period MacDiarmid developed a generalist approach to poetry that incorporates scientific discourse as a challenge to scientific specialisation. This approach has two important implications outwith its connection with global English. The incorporation of scientific discourse into poetry also has an implication for Marilyn Randall's understanding of authorship and plagiarism, via Randall's reference to Foucault's work on the author function and its role in scientific texts. Foucault observes that "the 'author-function' is not universal or constant in all discourse" and that "the same types of texts have not always required authors" (125). Before the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, "those texts which we now call 'literary' ... were accepted, circulated, and valorized without any question about the identity of their author" — even in cases where the author was anonymous — but that texts "that we now call 'scientific'" were "only considered truthful ... if the name of the author was indicated" (125-6). However, at some point in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, "scientific texts were accepted on their own merits and positioned within an anonymous

and coherent conceptual system of established truths and methods of verification”, while “‘literary’ discourse was acceptable only if it carried an author’s name” (126). Indeed, as Michael Whitworth has contended, “[t]he employment of scientific ideas or language in a poem raises questions of authoring”, since “[w]hen scientific ideas are removed from the institutional framework that guarantees their effectiveness ... their validity as science comes to rest increasingly on whether the poet understands them” (*Use* 98).

MacDiarmid’s preoccupation with the scientific and technological developments of modernity and the response he perceives them to necessitate from poetry and the poet can be traced in his prose work. In “Charles Doughty and the Need for Heroic Poetry” MacDiarmid argues that Wagner “knew (as Charles Doughty knew) that we were coming to another of the quantitative — as against accentual periods in culture” (126). This sentiment is echoed in “The Return of the Long Poem”, when MacDiarmid claims that “we are living in a great quantitative rather than qualitative age” and “a time of unprecedented and ever-accelerating change”, and that the “short lyrics” of which “English poetry today consists almost entirely of” are, moreover, “incapable of measuring up to the requirements of our age” (257). While MacDiarmid seems on one level to be borrowing the terms “quantitative”, “qualitative”, and, most especially, “accentual” from their use as descriptors of poetry, he blurs the distinction between that usage and the way in which those terms are used in relation to technological and scientific modernity. Indeed, in “The Return of the Long Poem” this “quantitative” age is described separately as “a time of unprecedented and ever-accelerating change” concomitant with an “insistent demand everywhere ... for higher and higher skills” caused by automation (257). And in “Poetry and Science” MacDiarmid quotes an interview with the biochemist and 1965 Nobel laureate Jacques Monod, in which Monod claimed that “‘Science has moulded our whole society, by technology, but even more by the creation of new ideas and new outlooks at the universe’” (233).

MacDiarmid’s view on the role the poet might play in the society that has

resulted from scientific and technological modernity is outlined most fully in his 1968 interview with Duncan Glen. In that interview, MacDiarmid argues that “[t]he whole atmosphere of modern life, particularly urban life, has no past. There’s no analogue in the past at all to the present state of over-scientification”, a state that most of us still try to interpret “in terms of a philosophy or an idea of life and so on that was itself pre-scientific” (*Conversation* 17). MacDiarmid goes on to outline how, while modernity generates multiple specialised disciplines and narratives, it is not clear as to “who is going to arbitrate between the different explanations” (*Conversation* 17). His answer, however, is unequivocal: it is “the poet — only” who will arbitrate (*Conversation* 17). MacDiarmid clarifies this point in “Poetry and Science”, in which he refers to the debate between F. R. Leavis and C. P. Snow that had followed Snow’s 1959 lecture on “The Two Cultures” in order to argue that the way in which the development of science and technology has led to the increasing specialisation of knowledge to such an extent that a single holistic viewpoint is impossible. There, MacDiarmid contends that “the sciences are becoming so greatly a matter of specialisation that ... general understanding ... seems out of the question altogether” (236). These specialised, fragmented “new outlooks” seem to be synonymous with the “different explanations” MacDiarmid had referred to in his interview with Duncan Glen. After quoting extensively from *In Memoriam*, MacDiarmid borrows from Walt Whitman in order to outline a “programme for poetry” (243). This programme — of which the section of *In Memoriam* that MacDiarmid has just quoted is presumably an example — is intended “to conform with and build on the concrete realities and theories of the universe furnished by science, and henceforth the only irrefragable basis for anything, verse included” (243).

Elsewhere in his prose work MacDiarmid proposes a three-fold approach that will enable the poet to fulfil their new role as arbiter. MacDiarmid contends, firstly, that the poet should write in a genre that he variously describes as “heroic”, “epic”, or, simply, “long”. In “The Return of the Long Poem” MacDiarmid specifies that this is a

version of the epic that is “not like epics of the past, except in scale, but embodying a knowledge of the modern world and all its potentialities, not in bits and pieces, but in the round” (257). Examples of the “new epic” include work by Mayakovsky, Neruda, and Hikmet that corresponds “to the vast complexity of the modern world and the unparalleled perspectives opening out before mankind as a result of the tremendous developments of the sciences in our time” (260-1). But “by far the greatest” example of this poetics is Pound’s *Cantos* (261). As Alan Riach argues in his introductory note to “The Return of the Long Poem”, “In approving Pound’s achievement in the *Cantos*, MacDiarmid is also implicitly setting out his beliefs regarding his own achievement in the genre of the long poem” (254).

The second part of the approach that would facilitate the poet’s new role as arbiter — and the one MacDiarmid describes at greatest length in his prose work — is that it should produce “world literature”. MacDiarmid provides two interconnected explanations of this term. The first is included in the “Author’s Note” that prefaces the 1955 edition of *In Memoriam*. There, MacDiarmid acknowledges his transition away from writing in Scots and, as part of his description of the nature of the work he has produced following that transition, draws parallels between his own work in *In Memoriam* and Goethe’s interpretation of world literature as “literature of all times and languages, the merely good as well as the great, in so far as it can be felt to illustrate the concept ... of the unity of all mankind” (14). The second definition can be found in the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” chapter of *Lucky Poet*. While the commentary included in that chapter precedes the first publication of *In Memoriam* by twelve years and does not therefore refer to it directly, the commentary is still relevant to *In Memoriam*. MacDiarmid refers to the material included in that chapter, which would be published as a modified, standalone version in 1961, as part of “a hitherto unprinted poem which is in the nature of a comprehensive manifesto” and which is “a small part of an immensely long poem” (114). It seems likely that this material is taken from the same *Mature Art/Cornish Heroic Song* urtext from which

MacDiarmid would produce the 1955 version of *In Memoriam*. Indeed, as W. N. Herbert has argued — and as evidenced by the recurrence of the “fetus” motif in both the final part of *In Memoriam* and the opening lines of *The Kind of Poetry I Want* — *The Kind of Poetry I Want* was intended to be the third section of the version of *Mature Art* MacDiarmid had envisioned for publication, with *In Memoriam* preceding it as the second section. In *Lucky Poet* MacDiarmid states that “The Kind of Poetry I Want” “exemplifies the aspiration to world-consciousness which has been the guiding principle in all my more recent work” (114). MacDiarmid goes on to specify that this means “a poetry only comparable to that splendid undertaking, *One Day of the World*, initiated by Maxim Gorky” which Gorky described as depicting a “complete picture ... of the motley chaos of modern life ... the artistic creative work of history during some one day” and that “*One Day of the World* is the nearest example of the sort of thing I am after in my recent poetry — of what I mean by world consciousness in my work” (135). MacDiarmid also describes how Gorky’s 1919 “essay on ‘World Literature’” is “very close” to his own view on the subject, quoting that essay’s argument for a literature that “should constitute an extensive historical literary compendium enabling the reader to acquaint himself with the origin, course, and decline of literary schools, with the development of the technique of verse and prose, with interacting influences in literature among nations, and, in general, with the entire sweep of literary evolution” (138). The “world literature” that MacDiarmid presents as an element of the poet’s new role as arbiter of the multiple discourses of scientific and technological modernity therefore brings together the Goethean “literature of all times and languages” that illustrates the idea of “the unity of all mankind” with the “extensive historical literary compendium” of the “interacting influences in literature among nations” of Gorky, to function as a hybrid of both understandings of the term (“Author’s Note” 14, *Lucky Poet* 138).

The potential for creating a renewed poetics through the introduction of “world literature” ideas borrowed from Gorky and Goethe is also connected to mod-

ernist language renewal. MacDiarmid's first use of them — as “*weltliteratur*” occurs in *Albyn*, where he contends that while the “Scottish Renaissance Movement is even more concerned with the revival of Gaelic than of Scots ... the revival of the Gaelic ... is lagging behind in comparison with Braid Scots, and it is questionable whether Gaelic has any similar alignment with the ‘becoming tendencies’ in *Weltliteratur*” (4-5). This reference to the alignment of Scots with *weltliteratur* evokes MacDiarmid's claim in “A Theory of Scots Letters” (1923) that the “Scots Vernacular is a vast storehouse of just the very peculiar and subtle effects which modern European literature in general is assiduously seeking” such that “the resumption of the Scots Vernacular into the mainstream of European letters ... is inevitable” (22). MacDiarmid's understanding of *weltliteratur* therefore both retains the meaning ascribed to it by Goethe, but gains a further meaning that aligns it with literary modernism. In “A Theory of Scots Letters” it refers to the work of Joyce, Lawrence, Proust and Dostoevsky. And this connection is maintained in the “Author's Note” when MacDiarmid argues that a world literature — one that “assumes that the world is an indivisible unit” and which takes “planetary life” as its subject — has emerged in the form of the modernisms of *The Waste Land*, *Finnegans Wake*, and *The Cantos* (14).

MacDiarmid develops his understanding of world literature further in “The Key to World Literature”, where he responds to Moray MacLaren's having called into question MacDiarmid's ability to evaluate the work of poets who were writing in languages with which MacDiarmid was not familiar. The “key” MacDiarmid refers to is “not to learn every language, but to acquire such a body of knowledge and understanding that I could see the poetical output of mankind as a whole and know what every sizeable poet ‘stood for’ and ‘amounted to’ in relation thereto, no matter in what language” (189). Evidence for this outlook can also be found in the “Author's Note” to *In Memoriam*, where MacDiarmid identifies *The Waste Land* as world literature because of the way in which it “juxtaposes a verse from Gerard de Nerval and a Sanskrit invocation” and “furnishes a sort of cento of quotations from a dozen

literatures”, whereas *Finnegans Wake* “uses twenty languages as a sort of keyboard” (14). Indeed, in “Poetry and Virtual Realities” Edwin Morgan contends that work such as *In Memoriam* reveals “what was quixotic about [MacDiarmid’s] ambition: that no single mind in the twentieth century could have a grasp of the sum of knowledge as Lucretius and Leonardo da Vinci have had in their times” (36). For Morgan, this generalism — operating in and apparently developed in response to an age of ever increasing specialisation — meant that “all the information in MacDiarmid came at second hand” (36).

The new approach to poetry that MacDiarmid advocates in response to scientific and technological modernity relies, thirdly, on the incorporation of scientific discourse itself. And the way in which MacDiarmid incorporates scientific discourse into his work is in practise close to the way he enacts his world literature. In both cases, the text adopts a generalist approach in that the relevance of the literal understanding of any particular work or idea is significantly reduced relative to the meaning that is created through the complex network of interrelations that exists between a hypertext’s source materials. As Michael Whitworth has argued, while “[s]cience was present in MacDiarmid’s poetry from start of his career”, at the beginning of the composition period of *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid’s relationship with scientific language and ideas evolved (*Use* 97). For Whitworth, the start of that period — “[a]round 1932 or 1933” — MacDiarmid “began to use *Chamber’s Twentieth Century Dictionary*” as well as drawing “on scientific papers, on non-technical scientific books and articles, and on book reviews” as raw material for his work (*Use* 97). And this reading of the poetry is confirmed by MacDiarmid’s prose work. In “Charles Doughty and the Need for Heroic Poetry”, MacDiarmid highlights “the urgent and unescapable necessity of the poetic use of the full range of modern scientific terminology” which he connects with “the experiments in linguistics of James Joyce, and Ezra Pound’s use as a language of multifarious references to all periods of history and all phases of human activity” (130).

Indeed, in a contribution to a 1960 issue of *X: A Quarterly Review*, MacDiarmid

claims to agree with “a friend” who has said that “If science is the differential calculus, art is the integral calculus. They are excellent separately but best taken together” (151). He goes on to quote himself in *Lucky Poet* when he observes that:

If I were asked to frame a test paper for literary aspirants, I would ask (1) for a poem on the fact that what is known as the ‘Lorentz transformation’ looks like the ‘Einstein transformation’. When manipulated numerically both give equal numerical results, yet the meanings and the semantic aspects are different. Although Lorentz produced the ‘Lorentz transformation’ he did not, and *could not*, produce the revolutionary Einstein theory. (2) A short paper discussing the fact that the semantic aspects of practically all important mathematical works by different authors often involve *individual semantic presuppositions* concerning fundamentals. (151)

The substance of this quotation is taken from Albert Korzybski’s 1933 work *Science and Sanity : an introduction to non-Aristotelian systems and general semantics*. Interestingly, *Science and Sanity* also serves as the source for a two and a half page passage that occurs around two-thirds of the way through the first section of *In Memoriam*.

In this way, MacDiarmid evokes the generalism of the epic approach that he suggests to be capable of engaging with modernity “in the round”. But the way in which MacDiarmid conceives of the necessity of incorporating scientific discourse into his work is also connected with his understanding of world literature. Towards the end of the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” MacDiarmid states (quoting from Walt Whitman) that he wants a poetry ““to conform with and build on the concrete realities and theories of the universe furnished by science”” (*Lucky* 187-8). MacDiarmid quotes Whitman again when he observes that until recently, poets had suffered “the absence and ignorance ... of the multitudinousness, vitality, and the unprecedented stimulants of to-day and here”, and gives this as the reason behind his insistence “on the necessity of world consciousness, and in my attitude to science — my denial that science is putting an end to poetry” (*Lucky* 187-8). MacDiarmid’s understandings

of epic poetry, world literature, and the way in which scientific discourse should be incorporated into literary texts are therefore interconnected through his advocacy of a generalist approach as a counter to the disciplinary specialisation engendered by scientific modernity.

Conclusion

The consideration of MacDiarmid's prose work that I have offered in this chapter suggests his long-term preoccupation with developing a new, epic poetics that incorporates a generalist approach to what MacDiarmid terms "world literature". MacDiarmid develops this poetics in response to those aspects of the scientific and technological developments of modernity that David Crystal has argued to be inextricably connected with the changing status of English as a global language. Aspects of MacDiarmid's description of this new poetics suggest that it refers to the extensive use of citation from books and periodicals that came increasingly to dominate MacDiarmid's work from the 1930s onwards. It can therefore be thought of as an example of what Marilyn Randall has termed "guerrilla plagiarism". Moreover, the way in which MacDiarmid prioritises the incorporation of scientific discourse within his version of guerrilla plagiarism emphasises the way in which citation raises multiple questions about authorship.

As I will argue in the next chapter of this thesis, in *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid's perception of the need for a new poetics dovetails thematically with ideas that relate to global English only to reject the possibility that global English could serve as a suitable basis for those new poetics. For example, in the first lines of the text the speaker recalls how their interlocutor "laughed like hell" in response to the idea that "English is destined to become the Universal Language" (738). Later in the first section of *In Memoriam* the text's speaker makes specific reference to radio and the anxieties relating to cultural Americanisation and homogenisation outlined by Marcus. The speaker describes "this *hapax legomenon* of a poem ... / ... this impact / Of the whole

range of Weltliteratur on one man's brain" as a response to a failed popular culture exemplified by the "radio variety programmes" that display "Many programmes but no variety" and are "anxious, / Mechanical, cut-to-pattern" (753-5). The version of English that the speaker of *In Memoriam* associates with the uniform popular radio culture has no fixed location, but is looking towards the United States in a way that evokes the role Crystal identifies as being played by American English as the dominant version of the language in the later development of global English: it offers "imitations of Hollywood film stars" and accents that are described as "pseudo-American", "some odd approximation / To the accents of Michigan or Arkansas", and as "'Hiya chum' accents" (753-4). And the impact of global English is revisited through the consideration of Basic English as a supposedly "neutral auxiliary language" (789). The speaker questions this neutrality, arguing instead that "the adoption of English as the supra-national language / Would imply the acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon supremacy": an example of "linguistic imperialism, which sums up all the rest" (789-90).

The speaker suggests a different method: "to apply / The method of Basic, not to English, / But to the vast international vocabulary which already exists" (790). In other words, the citational poetics that MacDiarmid deploys in *In Memoriam*, which can be thought of both in terms of Perloff's understanding of late modernism and Randall's theorisation of guerilla plagiarism. In the next three chapters of this thesis I undertake a close reading of *In Memoriam* that highlights the ways in which MacDiarmid selected, transformed, and combined various source materials in the composition of the text. I argue that understanding this process — and, especially, understanding it as a response to the changing status of English as a global language in the first half of the twentieth century — is central to understanding *In Memoriam* as a whole.

Chapter Four

In this chapter I argue that *In Memoriam*'s paratexts and first main section (also titled "In Memoriam James Joyce") establish and develop *In Memoriam*'s most significant formal and thematic preoccupations. These parts of the text introduce and legitimise the concept of citation, both directly and by challenging the boundaries of the text and its authorship. The first main section of the text develops a thread of ideas that range across different iterations of language including language that is written, spoken, and broadcast. It connects the ideas to further ideas that are themselves related to global English and which are in turn connected to *In Memoriam*'s own citational poetics.

The paratexts that frame the 1955 edition of the text (and the second impression that was printed in 1956) include its cover design, stylised typography and typesetting — including of its title page, colophon, dedications, contents page, and "Note on the Decorations" — as well as its graphical decorations, dedications, contents page, "Author's Note", epigraphs, and "list of subscribers". I argue that these paratexts prepare the reader for *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics, in two ways. Firstly, the dedications, "Author's Note", and epigraphs make explicit use of citation, with the "Author's Note" providing a bridge between this more conventional use of citation and the way that it is deployed in the main text. Secondly, the paratexts present a more general challenge to the location and permeability of the textual boundaries of *In Memoriam* and to the idea of individual authorship itself. They suggest, instead, that the text should be approached as a product of the work of a network of subscribers, publishers, typesetters, printers, designers, and illustrators, as well as the readers

and critics who make up what MacDiarmid describes as the “community of insight” that will provide the text with the reception it requires. I go on to argue that the way in which *In Memoriam*’s readership is presented is itself intertwined with the text’s citational poetics, and address the extent to which the text expects its implied readership to be aware of its use of citation.

While *In Memoriam* uses its paratexts as traditional framing devices, its argumentative, thematic, and formal complexity requires that the first section of the main text continue to perform this role. Part of this work involves the development of a series of ideas related to language itself: first written language — including translated languages — then vocalised language — including both speech and song. This development then transitions to a consideration of the power of broadcast language and then to the limits and powerlessness of language, specifically in the context of the powerlessness of satire in response to the rise of Nazism. This in turn leads the speaker to describe a kind of potent silence, a motif that recurs throughout the text. Moreover, many of the ideas expressed in this progression are connected to ideas that are themselves related to the changing status of English as a global language, which is itself a recurrent theme throughout the first section of *In Memoriam*. The consideration of the international communication technology of broadcast radio — itself a key factor in the spread of global English — is joined by (amongst other things) a commentary regarding the potential destiny of English as “the Universal Language” and the “acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon supremacy” implied by Ogden and Richards’ work developing the controlled international auxiliary language Basic English. I argue that the first section of *In Memoriam* consistently presents ideas relating to global English as part of a nexus of ideas that includes the conceptualisation of the “vision of world language” suggested by *In Memoriam*’s subtitle. I demonstrate that *In Memoriam*’s world language draws on two essays MacDiarmid published in the early 1930s, “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” and “English Ascendancy in British Literature”, in order to couple an idea that I refer to as the “Celtic brotherhood”

with the “mind of Europe” described by T. S. Eliot in “Tradition and the Individual Talent”. I show how this leads to the development of the world language as the new poetics MacDiarmid had argued for in, amongst other places, his 1970 *Conversation* with Duncan Glen. And, based in part on the speaker’s description of the way that Basic English implies a “linguistic imperialism, which sums up all the rest”, I argue that this new poetics can be identified in turn with Marilyn Randall’s concept of guerrilla plagiarism — that is, with the citational poetics of selection, transformation, and combination described in Chapter Two. Moreover, the first section of *In Memoriam* mirrors the connection Randall identifies between translation and plagiarism when it legitimises its own use of citation through the introduction of thematic references to translation. And the introduction of these thematic references also resonates with the way in which *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics problematise the speaker’s voice. The first section of the text therefore ends up echoing the way in which the paratexts challenge *In Memoriam*’s own textual boundaries and the idea of authorship itself.

***In Memoriam*’s paratexts**

The 1955 first edition of *In Memoriam* is presented in highly distinctive way. The text is printed in a large format — slightly smaller than quarto — that includes substantial front and end matter and is decorated throughout with illustrations by the Scottish Colourist J. D. Fergusson. *In Memoriam*’s paratextual material frames the text in a way that facilitates readerly engagements with its citational poetics. It does this in two ways. Firstly, the paratexts’ most conventional and explicit uses of citation — its epigraphs and dust jacket quotations — are connected to the main text’s less conventional and less obvious use of citation through the text’s “Author’s Note”, which serves as a kind of transitional bridge that primes the reader to expect the main text’s use of citation. In Chapter Three I examined the thematic content of the “Author’s Note”, arguing that it summarises much of the search for a new poetics that MacDiarmid undertook from the early 1930s onwards. In this context, I consider its role to be

formal. While MacDiarmid makes extensive use of citation in much of his prose work, its use in an “Author’s Note” makes the title of that work seem somewhat ironic. A short quotation from T. S. Eliot is followed by a short, unattributed quotation that describes MacDiarmid as “the greatest Scots poet since the death of Burns”. This is followed in turn by a series of long attributed quotations taken from David Daiches, Compton Mackenzie, France Golffing, Mackenzie again, George Gurdjieff, Thornton Wilder, Jacob Fichman, Marius Bewley, Henry James Sr, and Kenneth Jackson. These appear alongside shorter quotations by Mae West and Chaim Bialik, extracts from the main text of *In Memoriam* presented in the style of the “The Kind of Poetry I Want” chapter of *Lucky Poet*, and two anonymous quotations. Indeed, the volume of citation in the “Author’s Note” relative to the amount of material written by MacDiarmid is such that the work involved in composing the text largely involves corralling and juxtaposing cited material: unlike the main text of *In Memoriam*, the source materials of the “Author’s Note” are hardly transformed at all. This extensive use of overt quotation is in part an attempt to legitimise *In Memoriam* by associating it with the work of established writers. In this sense, the “Author’s Note” is a continuation of the superlative quotations included on *In Memoriam*’s dust jacket. Indeed, the first quotation in the “Author’s Note” is an extension of a dust jacket quotation from T. S. Eliot. The “Author’s Note” therefore connects outwards to these more peripheral paratexts and their more conventional usage of citation. However, the way in which it is listed in *In Memoriam*’s “Sequence of Contents” in precisely the same style as the six main sections of the poem suggests its ambiguous, liminal status between the paratexts and the main text.

But when the title of the “Author’s Note” is read less ironically it becomes suggestive of the ways in which *In Memoriam* challenges ideas of authorship. It seems unavoidable that the “Author” of the “Author’s Note” is identified with the author that has composed the main text of *In Memoriam*. The overt citation of texts being valorised as authorship in the “Author’s Note” must therefore lead to readerly pre-

conceptions about the author of the main text being challenged. Moreover, while on one level the use the “Author’s Note” makes of citation seems simpler than the use of citation in the main text — for example, no line breaks are added and each citation is demarcated from the rest of the text through the use of quotation marks — aspects of the way the “Author’s Note” uses citation do share some of the complexities present in the citation deployed in the main text. For example, consider the second quotation included in the “Author’s Note”, which describes MacDiarmid as “the greatest Scots poet since the death of Burns” (11). This quotation is unattributed, but MacDiarmid makes a similar claim in *Lucky Poet*: “I have been hailed in many quarters as the greatest Scottish poet since Burns” (175). On one level this is an example of the self-citation that MacDiarmid uses at various points in the main text of *In Memoriam* (and elsewhere in his poetic output), where he recycles material that he had previously published in a different context. But it is connected to *In Memoriam*’s use of citation in a more specific way. While the source of the comparison with Burns that MacDiarmid quotes in *Lucky Poet* is not known (assuming, of course, that it exists at all and the comparison is not an instance of typically MacDiarmidean fabricated self-aggrandisement), the extract from *Lucky Poet* that mentions that comparison is itself quoted in the article by David Daiches that the “Author’s Note” cites immediately afterwards. Taken together, then, the comparison with Burns and the citation from Daiches prefigure the complex form of citation repeatedly deployed in the main text of *In Memoriam*, where a source is included that itself cites material from a further source, so that material from the directly cited source is included along with the material that it was itself citing.¹ For example, MacDiarmid’s most common single source is book reviews from the *Times Literary Supplement*. Those reviews themselves very often include citations from the books that are being reviewed, and MacDiarmid frequently cites these citations along with the material that immediately surrounded them in the *TLS*. Moreover, both of the anonymous quotations in the “Author’s Note”

1. I refer to this as “second-order” citation, and address it at length in Chapter Five.

appear to be taken from sources that are themselves quoting from other sources: John Berger quoting Robert Furneaux Jordan, and Alfred Noyes quoting Barry Pain. However, in neither case is the original act of citation performed anonymously.

The “Author’s Note” is directly followed by *In Memoriam*’s epigraphs. While this context legitimises the use of citation, the text pushes the limits of what might usually be expected from epigraphs. This is most immediately apparent in the amount and length of individual quotations: there are eight quotations in total, many of which extend over multiple lines. But *In Memoriam*’s epigraphs also use citation that is both thematically and formally similar to the way in which citation is deployed in the “Author’s Note” to build a mosaic of juxtaposed quotations. The epigraphs therefore maintain the work undertaken by the “Author’s Note” to prepare the reader for the main text’s citational poetics. Thematically, the epigraphs maintain the preoccupation the “Author’s Note” has with world literature, thereby prefiguring the recurrence of the theme throughout the first section of *In Memoriam* where, as I will argue, it is connected with the text’s citational poetics. The motto of Tagore’s International University, “When the whole world meets in one space”, is quoted in Sanskrit and then translated into English, in a slight anticipation of the first section’s reflection on the idea of translation (20). This is followed by Solovyov’s (MacDiarmid gives the alternative Romanisation “Solovyof”) proposal for “an all-embracing language, an interpenetration of all languages” as an alternative to constructed languages such as Esperanto and Volapük (20). Modernist writers are also strongly represented, as they were in the “Author’s Note”: John Cowper Powys’s response to Joyce is quoted, along with T. S. Eliot’s phrase “To purify the dialect of the tribe” — albeit with Mallarmé given as the source.

Formally, the epigraphs maintain the idea developed in the “Author’s Note” of a text as a mosaic or collage of pre-existing source material. The epigraphs also continue to make use of the second-order citation deployed in the “Author’s Note”, such as with the longest epigraph. No attribution is provided for this epigraph; instead,

the text notes only that it was “Written of the late Harold Williams”. The purpose of not providing a traditional attribution for this epigraph seems to be to draw the reader’s attention to the hyperpolyglot Harold Williams. MacDiarmid’s source appears to have been *Cheerful Giver: the Life of Harold Williams*, written by Williams’ wife Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and published in 1935. However, the way in which MacDiarmid constructs this epigraph is deceptively complex. In its complexity, the Williams epigraph transitions the reader between the relatively simplistic citation of the “Author’s Note” and the more complex and varied citation practised in the main text. But it also tests the limits and conventions of the form of citation that a reader might expect to encounter in an epigraphical context. More or less exactly the same quotation (the word order is exactly the same, but there are a handful of differences with regards to punctuation) appears in an unpublished fragment of *Lucky Poet* discovered by John Manson in 2004 (MacDiarmid, “Unpublished” 55). While MacDiarmid’s source appears to have been *Cheerful Giver* itself, the phrase “Mezzofanti himself would have scratched in a match with Harold Williams” is quoted in a review of Tyrkova-Williams’s book that appears on p. 56 of the January 15, 1936 issue of *Punch*. Moreover, while the presentation of the epigraph implies that the remaining material is taken as a piece from *Cheerful Giver*, this is not the case. “Languages, grammar ... moments of his life” is taken from p. 2 (MacDiarmid changes Tyrkova-Williams’s “sudden sense of inner revolution” to “sudden sense of inner revelation”, thereby emphasising Tyrkova-Williams’s earlier use in the same passage of “revealed the realm of words”); “— Mezzofanti himself ... with Harold Williams” is taken from page vii of the preface, written by Samuel Hoare (MacDiarmid adds the em dash). The construction of the rest of the epigraph is more complex. “This gift of tongues was not an end in itself” appears to have been added by MacDiarmid; Google Books returns only one instance of the phrase “gift of tongues” in *Cheerful Giver*, on p. x of Hoare’s preface; Hoare uses the phrase “gift of speech” on p. vii. Similarly, “Sir Samuel Hoare rightly recognised that it was” appears to be an addition by MacDiarmid, with the two

quotations it introduces — both presented in inverted commas — taken from p. vii. And comparing these two quotations to the versions that were omitted from *Lucky Poet*, it is interesting to note that the inverted commas change; in the *In Memoriam* version, inverted commas are present for the the first quote but largely absent for the second quote, whereas in the *Lucky Poet* version the opposite is true. An apparently simple quotation, presented within the conventional framework of a text's epigraphs, therefore turns out to be significantly more complex. It incorporates two texts, one of which has a paratextual relationship with the other, written by two authors. One of those texts is quoted both directly and as a second-order quotation — that is, within a further set of inverted commas, to give the impression that the speaker is reporting already-reported writing. This process is itself complicated further when compared with the version of the passage omitted from *Lucky Poet*, as the status of a quotation as first- or second-order is modified. And, while only one word — and, indeed, only one letter of that word — is changed in the transformation of the source material, the change of “revolution” to “revelation” creates an aesthetic effect that re-stresses the earlier phrase “revealed the realm of words”.

The Williams epigraph can therefore be used to demonstrate how the use of complex citational techniques — the selections, transformations, and combinations described in Chapter Two — is not limited to the main text of *In Memoriam*. The boundaries of this practise are themselves blurred by the way in which the introductory paratexts themselves make use of citation. While the Williams epigraph is the clearest example of this, I have also demonstrated that this method of quotations can itself be connected back through the “Author's Note” and onto other paratextual material. This is an aspect of a more general sense in which *In Memoriam*'s paratexts call the text's boundaries into question, both in terms of its existence on the page and with regards to its composition, especially in the way in which they foreground the role that contributors other than MacDiarmid have had in the production of the text. This aspect of the paratexts begins on the text's title page, which includes the names

of *In Memoriam*'s illustrator and publisher, J. D. Fergusson and William MacLellan, in a typeface that is only slightly smaller than that used for MacDiarmid's own name. The prominence of both Fergusson's and MacLellan's names are emphasised further by the way in which they are centred on the page, with MacLellan's name additionally pointed up by its wide letter spacing and by a design that seems to stand in as a logo for his publishing firm; the firm itself is represented through the prominent inclusion of its address, "240 HOPE STREET GLASGOW", as a kind of wordmark. The colophon emphasises MacLellan's role in the creation of the text even further, with an otherwise blank page featuring the text

PRINTED AT THE PRESS OF
WILLIAM MACLELLAN
240 HOPE ST. GLASGOW
Nineteen hundred and fifty-five (4)

Fergusson's decorations constantly remind the reader of the part he has played in the creation of *In Memoriam* and, more broadly, of the way in which *In Memoriam* should be thought of as the work of multiple creators. The decorations are connected to the main text of *In Memoriam* through the themes of historical Celticism, James Joyce, and music. They draw on both the Early Medieval Ogham alphabet, which was used to write early forms of what would become Irish Gaelic, and what Fergusson describes as "other symbols that convey / Joyce's concern / with / music, creation, feeling" (10). Indeed, the decorations incorporate Joyce's initials, along with Ogham characters and elements of musical notation, including a repeated treble clef motif. The text's contents page — whose title, "Sequence of Contents" is itself suggestive of the idea of a musical sequence — features a large, bold treble clef design together with a further contiguous design that incorporates Joyce's initials, elements of Ogham, and a repeated motif of the curled tail of the treble clef. And Fergusson's role as a contributor to *In Memoriam* — and *In Memoriam*'s status as the creation of multiple contributors — is reinforced by the way in which the first words to appear in the

text after its dedication are written by him rather than MacDiarmid. This is not the sort of third party textual intervention that a reader might anticipate, such as a preface. Titled “A Note on the Decorations”, the page is the most stylised in the text; and in it, Fergusson makes no reference to either MacDiarmid or *In Memoriam* itself and instead only gives background information on his decorations, describing their origins in Ogham and in Joyce’s work.

In Memoriam’s paratexts therefore frame the text as the outcome of a network of publishers, designers, and illustrators (as well as the network of subscribers who financed the project, on whose behalf the copyright page states MacLellan published the text: they are listed in its final two non-blank pages). This framing calls the boundaries of the text into question, both in terms of its composition and in terms of its existence on the page. As I have argued, the “Author’s Note” and epigraphs augment this effect by making increasingly specific allusions to the main text’s citational poetics. And *In Memoriam*’s dedications extend and move beyond the idea of the creative network underpinning the text to consider the network of *In Memoriam*’s critics and general readership. The status of the text’s dedications is itself called into question by the way they are typeset, which gives them the appearance of three stanzas of blank verse. The second and third of these stanzas are presented in something close to iambic pentameter, and describe the dedicatees: John Tonge, James H. Whyte, and Prince Dimitry Mirsky. But it is the first stanza that is most relevant to my argument here:

Our community of insight
Makes it fitting
That I should link with this book
As dedicatees
My two old friends, (6)

The reference here is to Tonge and Whyte. While it is common to introduce dedicatees into a literary text, the phrasing of this stanza suggests that the connection be-

tween Tonge and Whyte and *In Memoriam* is stronger than a reader might otherwise assume. The dedication suggests a “link” between the two dedicatees and the text that is dedicated to them; Tonge and Whyte therefore join the other contributors to *In Memoriam*, but not in a straightforward sense of contributing material or labour to the creation of the text. Instead they have undertaken the work of receiving the text: they are members of a “community of insight” by virtue of their being “Experts in, and enthusiasts of, / World Literature” (6). The phrase “community of insight” has a long history in MacDiarmid’s work, and especially during the later period of his career. It appears in *The Company I’ve Kept* (1966), the essay “The Scottish Renaissance: The Next Step” (1950), and in two places in *Lucky Poet* (1943) (*Company* 89, *Scottish* 108, *Lucky* 15, *Lucky* 19). However, MacDiarmid’s first use of the phrase appears to be in *Scottish Eccentrics* (1936), in a long quotation he takes from the work of the philosopher Thomas Davidson (1840-1900) (148).²

The dedication goes on to re-state MacDiarmid’s understanding of “World Literature” — “as conceived, / Not very dissimilarly, / By Goethe, Gorky, or myself” — and then to observe that Tonge and Whyte’s ability to understand and communicate Joyce’s work and ideas — something that presumably contributed to their membership of the “community of insight” — is predicated on their “due sense of operative form” (6). The various connections *In Memoriam* establishes between itself and Joyce (not least in its own title) imply that a worthwhile critical engagement with *In Memoriam* is itself predicated on an understanding of form as being in some sense “operative”. The most distinctive aspect of MacDiarmid’s “operative form” is arguably its use of citation. The text’s dedications therefore seem to intertwine ideas that relate *In Memoriam*’s implied readership with the text’s citational poetics.

While machine-searchable texts, such as those provided by Google Books and the TLS archive, allow a reader to gain a relatively complete understanding of

2. MacDiarmid’s source here appears to be “Memorials of Thomas Davidson: The Wandering Scholar”, edited by William Knight and published in 1907. MacDiarmid seems to use similar techniques to those he would deploy in the composition of *In Memoriam*, drawing on multiple letters and essays published in the text, and occasionally combining texts that were originally distinct.

the source materials used in the composition of *In Memoriam*, readings that make use of machine-searchable texts are different to the earlier readings that I am in part concerned with here, which were largely predicated on an individual reader's knowledge of the text's source materials. Clearly, no individual reader could be expected to identify every text that MacDiarmid cites in the composition of *In Memoriam*. However, earlier readers of *In Memoriam* would rarely be completely unaware of the text's use of citation. Some sources are explicitly attributed, which not only direct the reader to those specific sources but also — alongside the ways in which the presence of other sources is signalled in the text, such as through the use of quotation marks — suggest the extent of *In Memoriam*'s overall use of citation. In addition to the text's explicitly attributed sources, each reader can identify a greater or lesser subset of the remaining source material drawn on by *In Memoriam*. Moreover, each reader would be aware of a different set of sources. Some sources would be better known or more obvious than others, so different sources would be known by different proportions of *In Memoriam*'s readership. Each reader would also be aware of a different subset of sources, thereby generating a specific way in which each reading of the text would be unique. While the technological developments that have facilitated a more complete understanding of *In Memoriam*'s source materials have also created a distinction between those readings that were undertaken before the advent of those technologies and the readings that were undertaken afterwards, the sources that might have been identified as part of the earlier readings are themselves historically contingent. For example, a reader engaging with *In Memoriam* shortly after its publication in 1955 would be more likely to identify material taken from the 1954 issues of *The Listener* and the *TLS* from which *In Memoriam* takes material than a reader in 1965, as the former reader would be more likely to have encountered that material directly and to recall it. Readerly engagements with *In Memoriam* therefore reflect the shifting, networked nature of the text's composition, as foregrounded by *In Memoriam*'s paratexts.

“In Memoriam James Joyce”

The way in which *In Memoriam*'s introductory paratexts allude to *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics and question the understanding of the text as the product of an individual creator frame and inform the reader's engagement with the main text. Moreover, the first section of the main text sustains and continues to develop these ideas. When read in the editions of the text that were published by MacLellan it specifies how the creative network implied by the introductory paratexts is rooted in a hybrid idea that can be traced in part to two essays MacDiarmid published in the early 1930s: “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” and “English Ascendancy in British Literature”. This idea underpins the development of *In Memoriam*'s “vision of world language”, which is deployed as a response to global English. I identify this world language with *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics: that is, the new poetics that MacDiarmid had argued to be necessary.

Indeed, the presentation of *In Memoriam*'s first section causes its boundary with the introductory paratexts to be blurred. The text transitions from an “Author's Note” that makes extensive use of overt citation, through the more conventional use of citation in the epigraphs, and on to the main text. But while each of the other five sections of the main text begins on a new recto page headed by that section's title, the first line of the first section of *In Memoriam* appears immediately after the final epigraph. This blurring is continued by the presence in the main text's opening lines of a quotation that is itself longer than many of the epigraphs that directly precedes it. The citation — which uses material from A. G. Pape's 1928 novel *The Politics of the Aryan Road* — is set off from the main text by quotation marks and its source is explicitly indicated.³ This locates the citation amongst the most overt in *In Memoriam*. The text therefore carries through the foregrounding of its own citationality from the paratexts. But it also couples it with thematic references to the changing status of

3. In *Lucky Poet* MacDiarmid describes Pape as someone “with whom, for a time, I had a good deal to do in Edinburgh”; it appears that MacDiarmid and Pape shared a common interest in C. H. Douglas's *Social Credit* (48). MacDiarmid's copy of *The Politics of the Aryan Road* is held by Edinburgh University Library's Centre for Research Collections.

English as a global language:

I remember how you laughed like Hell
When I read to you from Pape's 'Politics of the Aryan Road':
'English is destined to become the Universal Language!
The vibratory effect of English correctly spoken
(Which has somewhat of a nasal intonation)
On the Pineal Gland is unique,
And a necessary factor in the evolution of humanity.
I have yet to find any creative effect from Esperanto or Ido.
The creative effect of European languages
Can be demonstrated in that the vibrations
Produced in speaking these languages
— One and all — have direction.
I have not found any vibratory direction in Esperanto.
— Force without direction is Chaos.' (738)

In addition to being one of the most overt citations in *In Memoriam*, in terms of how it transforms its source material this is also one of the text's simpler citations. The eight lines of Pape's novel that appear in *In Memoriam* are printed as follows (MacDiarmid's modifications indicated in square brackets):

"The vibratory effect of English correctly spoken [/] (which has somewhat of a nasal intonation) [/] [O]n the Pineal Gland is unique[, /] and a necessary factor in the evolution of humanity. [/] I have yet to find any creative effect from Esperanto or Ido"; "The creative effect of European languages [/] [C]an be demonstrated in that the vibrations produced in speaking these languages [/] — One and all — have direction. [Paragraph break in original] [/] I have not found any vibratory direction in Esperanto [/] — Force without direction is chaos [!]" (107, 110)

While MacDiarmid integrates two slightly separate passages from Pape's text and

presents them as one continuous passage, he otherwise only modifies the text in order to add line breaks and to modify capitalisation, and to rework the first line: “English is destined to become the Universal Language” does not appear verbatim in *The Politics of the Aryan Road*; instead, MacDiarmid seems to have based it on the next two lines of Pape’s text: “Finally, I understand that a developed form of English is to be the future world language” (110).

Although the first section of the text sustains the paratexts’ foregrounding of *In Memoriam*’s use of citation, the way it presents its citations represents a development of the way in which citations were presented in the paratexts. The epigraphs and dust-jacket provide frameworks within which a reader would usually expect to encounter citation and in large part both make use of citation in the way a reader would expect: the only exceptions being the misattribution of Eliot’s “dialect of the tribe” line and the transformation of the material relating to Harold Williams. The “Author’s Note” introduces a more obvious first person voice that is distinct from the citations it introduces and comments upon. However, the voice of the “Author’s Note” only ever agrees with the sentiment of the texts it introduces, or uses those texts to reinforce a point that the “Author’s Note” is making: for example, “Dr. David Daiches ... said of these poems”, “Compton Mackenzie said, *apropos* my earlier Scots poetry”, and “the crisis which so completely altered the nature of my work, can hardly be better expressed than by Francis Golfing’s passage regarding Hofmannsthal”. By contrast, the speaker of the main text adds a far more significant and nuanced degree of framing when they introduce the quotation from Pape. The speaker remembers their imagined interlocutor as laughing “like Hell” at the passage from Pape. There is no internal evidence that demonstrates whether this material was intended to be read as humorous. However, reading *The Politics of the Aryan Road* directly suggests that Pape was serious about this reasoning for using English (rather than constructed languages such as Esperanto or Ido) as a universal language. The humour here therefore seems to result from the speaker of *In Memoriam* reading

against the grain of their source material.⁴

The opening lines of *In Memoriam* therefore builds on the idea of citation as it has been developed in the paratexts, in order to complicate the way in which the text transforms its source materials. This is done, moreover, in the context of the introduction of material that is thematically related to global English. The speaker presents this material as a counterpoint against which they can establish their own “vision of world language”. This trope recurs throughout the first section of *In Memoriam*, and provides an insight into the way in which the text connects its citational poetics with ideas relating to the changing status of English as a global language. It is first established directly following the material from Pape, when the text’s world language begins to emerge from the coupling of the concept of the “mind of Europe” developed by T. S. Eliot in “Tradition and the Individual Talent” with the idea of a Celtic intellectual fraternity taken from the work of the French archeologist and sociologist Henri Hubert. This couple recurs and develops throughout the text, underpinning the development of its citational poetics. The potential of English as a “Universal Language” is therefore contrasted with the possibilities that emerge when the Eliotian concept of tradition is spliced with a specifically Celtic brotherhood or network:

We who are concerned with ‘the living whole
Of all the poetry that has ever been written,’
And the *sodaliciis adstricti consortiis*
Of all the authors who have been, are, or will be, (738)

The quotation is taken from from the part of “Tradition and the Individual Talent” where Eliot refers to “the importance of the relation of the poem to other poems by other authors” that he had described in the first part of that essay. There, Eliot

4. Little is known about Pape, but his other publications (including *Is There a New Race Type* and *The Christ of the Aryan Road*) suggest a strong interest in Theosophy; the most obvious connection between Pape and MacDiarmid would then be *The New Age*. *The Politics of the Aryan Road* presents a series of conversations between fictional Cambridge academics to expound the ideas behind Theosophy and to suggest that they present a solution for the economic and political problems of the 1920s. The passage cited by MacDiarmid appears to be based on Theosophy; the pineal gland, for example, features in Blavatsky’s work, where it is connected to the “third eye”.

argues that a poet should write “with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order”, and that literary critics must consider the poet’s work by first placing the poet “for contrast and comparison, among the dead ... as a principle of æsthetic, not merely historical, criticism” (*Sacred* 44). Eliot continues:

what happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which precede it. The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted. (*Sacred* 44-5)

Meanwhile, the italicised Latin phrase originates from the fourth-century Roman soldier and historian Ammianus Marcellinus; however, it seems likely that MacDiarmid took the phrase from Hubert’s *The Greatness and Decline of the Celts*, which was first published in English translation in 1934 and which is a source for two further passages in *In Memoriam*. In this text, Hubert writes that

The Druids formed an order in Celtic society, but that order was a brotherhood (*sodaliciis adstricti consortiis*), a society of individuals collectively exercising a social function. Their organization cut across the divisions of tribes and states; the Druids of Ireland were one single body, those of Britain turned their eyes to the sanctuary of Mona (Anglesey), and those of Gaul turned to the shrine among the Carnutes ... the Druids formed a widespread college, the members of which, distributed about the political framework on the nation, performed the most varied functions. (291)

In contending that the *sodaliciis adstricti consortiis* is made up “Of all the authors who have been, are, or will be”, which echoes Eliot’s description of the way in which “the

whole of the literature of Europe ... has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order”, *In Memoriam* connects Eliot’s preoccupation with a network of texts and Hubert’s focus on a network of people.

While this connection stops short of an identification — the *sodaliciis adstricti consortiis* is presented as having existed, whereas Eliot’s network is more abstract — in connecting the two networks the text draws on ideas outlined in MacDiarmid’s essay of the early 1930s, “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea”, which also informs the text’s engagement, in “The Meeting of the East and the West”, with ideas relating to Asian literatures and languages and their influence on the European tradition. However, the continuing development of the hybrid mind of Europe/Celtic brotherhood idea is undertaken in the first section of *In Memoriam* in a way that evokes MacDiarmid’s other important early 1930s essay, “English Ascendancy in British Literature”, in the context of ideas relating to translation that themselves suggest a further development of *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics. To do this, the text begins by referencing two nineteenth-century minority language poets:

We remember Jacint Verdaguer whose *Atlàntida* and *Canigó*
Did for Catalonia what Mistral’s *Mirèio* did for Provence,
And the Italian, Marco Girolamo Vida,
Who duly figured in Chalmers’ collection of British Poets
(Trust the English to appropriate all they can !)
An odd fate for an Italian rhetorician
Who wrote Latin verse in defense of Greek poetics! (738).

Verdaguer and Mistral therefore become nodes in the “mind of Europe” network — or, more specifically, the hybrid mind of Europe/Celtic brotherhood network — where they are joined by Vida; the work of these poets is opposed to Pape’s understanding of the potential universality of the English language. The references to Verdaguer and Mistral identify them as European minority language poets. But the reference to Vida is significantly more complex, and serves to extend the mind of Eu-

rope/Celtic brotherhood idea to include *In Memoriam*'s own citational poetics. "Trust the English to appropriate all they can !" echoes the ideas of the English Ascendancy essay regarding the Anglicisation of Britain and Ireland, and as with the earlier "English is destined to become the Universal Language !", the inclusion of an exclamation mark emphasises the line's ironic humour. The joke here is that the Italian Vida was included in a "collection of British poets". But in the context of this reading the slip from "British Poets" to "English" appropriation can be seen to foreground a further slippage that itself suggests the idea of translation as a legitimate form of textual appropriation. On a first reading "Chalmers' collection of British Poets" appears to be an error. Alexander Chalmers (1759-1834) edited *The British Essayists* (1817), but it appears that the reference here is to his *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer To Cowper* (1810), since volume 19 of that series includes Christopher Pitt's English translation of Vida's *Art of Poetry*. But this reading leads to a repetition of the ambiguity of the original unexplained transition from British to English. Chalmers was in fact born in Aberdeen, and it seems extremely unlikely that MacDiarmid — who claimed Herman Melville as a Scot and observed the Scottish roots of T. S. Eliot's surname in *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* — would not have inferred that somebody of the name Chalmers might be Scottish rather than English.

The appropriation in question therefore seems to refer to the poets whose work Chalmers collected. Indeed, every contribution in the volume of the *English Poets* that includes Pitt's translation of Vida's *Art of Poetry* is a translation into English of a poet writing in a classical language. It therefore seems most likely that it is these translations that the speaker of *In Memoriam* is framing as acts of appropriation. While this framing questions the validity of translation projects like Chalmers' *English Poets* that obscure their own origins — and therefore hints at the hegemonic position English is developing as a global language during the twentieth century — the nod to appropriation must also be read as a self-referential joke about *In Memoriam*'s own textual appropriations. And through that reading, *In Memoriam* legitimises its own

citational poetics. As Marilyn Randall has argued, translation has historically facilitated the importation of the culture of a conquered people into the culture of a conquering power as a legitimate form of appropriation. The introduction of ideas relating to translation therefore serves to legitimise *In Memoriam*'s own use of citation.

This passage is followed in turn by a seven page catalogue of writers, scientists, and linguists, each of whom is a further node in the proposed mind of Europe/Celtic brotherhood network. This catalogue takes *In Memoriam* to its first paragraph break, 282 lines into the text, which introduces a further passage that includes the first reference to James Joyce in the main text: "Welcome then, Joyce, to our *aonach* here" (705). The text uses a footnote to gloss "aonach" as "Scottish Gaelic, meaning (1) a solitary place, (2) a place of union, cf. Latin: *unicus*, single; unite, unite, — both from unusual, one", a slightly abridged version of the definition offered in *Cornish Heroic Song for Valda Trevlyn* — another product of the *Cornish Heroic Song/Mature Art* urtext — which includes the line "Linking the fogs and our 'aonach' here, with its trick drive-way" (705). The "our" of "our *aonach*" initially seems to be ambiguous, as was the case with the "you" in the first line of *In Memoriam*: it could refer to the speaker and Joyce, or to the speaker and the "you" of the first line — which itself may refer to Joyce — with Joyce being welcomed to join their *aonach*. However, the introduction of Gaelic to the text together with the concept of the *aonach* itself connects back to the spiritual-intellectual-cultural brotherhood of the "*sodaliciis adstricti consortiis*" that the opening passage of the text coupled with the Eliotian "mind of Europe" (738). While the *aonach* of *Cornish Heroic Song* clearly involves Valda Trevlyn, the *aonach* referred to in *In Memoriam* is therefore a further iteration of the Cornish brotherhood/mind of Europe network. Thus, the "our" of "our *aonach*" is far broader than either of the possibilities described above; it refers, instead, to the entire network of "all the authors who have been, are, or will be" that is outlined at the start of the text.

The introduction of Joyce locates him — and, presumably, his work — within the context of the mind of Europe/Celtic brotherhood network. This introduction

occurs alongside a thematic shift from the consideration of written language to the consideration of vocalised language, both spoken and sung. This is the first of a series of such shifts that occur in the first section of *In Memoriam* and which are revisited in “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”. Here, the shift from writing to speech together with the reference to the Gaelic *aonach* connects *In Memoriam* and its mind of Europe/Celtic brotherhood network with the oral bardic tradition and with the text’s citational poetics. As with the rest of the text to this point, this development of ideas relating to *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics continues to be undertaken in response to the notion of English as a global auxiliary language introduced by the Pape material cited in the opening lines of the section.

Prior to this segue, the text’s references to language are preoccupied with the written word: “all the poetry that has ever been written”, “all the authors who have been, are, or will be”, “an Italian rhetorician / Who wrote Latin verse”, “a polyglot Testament in one hand / And a phrase-book in the other”, “men who, when they sat down to write, Had merely to let their pens run freely”, “Diaskeuasts of the Omnific Word”, etc. (738, 738, 738, 743, 743, 745).⁵ Indeed, when the text does refer to speech in its opening 282 lines it tends to do so in connection to written language: “Meredith’s specialised philosophical vocabulary, / ... / Uttering a secret language as if in the belief / That it was a universal speech”, “Davidson, too, with his angry cry”, “Alan Gardiner’s exposé of Saussure’s typical ‘circuit of speech’”, “Carco the Toulous-Lautrec of speech”, “as he [Gramsci] said in his *Lettere dal Carcere*”, etc. (739,

5. “Omnific Word” is taken from *Paradise Lost*, where it identified with John 1.1, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (12.217; KVJ). MacDiarmid had himself used the phrase in *Cencrastus*:

Time eneuch then to seek the Omnific Word
In Jamieson yet.
Or the new Dictionary in the makin’ noo,
Or coin it oorsels!) (223)

“Jamieson” is, of course, John Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary*, and the “new Dictionary in the makin’ noo” is the *Scottish National Dictionary* that was eventually published in 1976 but began with the formation of the Scottish National Dictionary Association in 1929, the year before the publication of *Cencrastus*. Interestingly in the context of *In Memoriam*’s foregrounded heteroglossia, these lines in *Cencrastus* seem to suggest that while an act of originary creation is still possible in the Scots MacDiarmid constructed through his mining of Jamieson, the possible sources – and therefore the possible languages – have broadened almost indefinitely.

740, 743, 743, 745).

But in this second verse paragraph the speaker shifts their focus to spoken or sung language, stating that

Germane to this poem, and most amazing instance perhaps

Of the lengths to which malicious misrepresentation goes

And the *suppressio veri* that accompanies it everywhere

Is the great question of Sinus Tone Production,

The production of vocal tone in the various

Sinuses of the head and face and not by means of the vocal cords (746)

While these lines initially appear to refer to vocalised language in general, the passage goes on to focus on opera singers such as Jenny Lind, Giulia Grisi, and Maria Malibran. This focus is mirrored by the speaker's rhetorical questions, "How could I fail to sing of such feats / Who am a connoisseur of the human voice" and "What? Complaint that I should sing / Of philological, literary, and musical matters / Rather than of daffodils and nightingales, / Mountains, seas, stars and like properties?" (749). This is the first of a series of shifts with regards to different forms of language — and, ultimately, the absence of language implied by silence, and what forms of communication might lie beyond that silence — that runs through the first section of the text. Within the section, this development provides some of the structural unity that critics such as Kenneth Buthlay have identified in the way in which MacDiarmid's earlier long poems, such as *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* and *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, make use of repeated clusters of symbols. It also provides unity between sections of the text, echoing the paratextual references to music and prefiguring the opening passage of the final section, "Plaited Like the Generations of Men", which uses music as a metaphor for *In Memoriam*'s multiple threads. But taken together with the introduction of Gaelic to the text and with the idea of the aonach, this specifically suggests the idea of *bardic* song that MacDiarmid had developed more explicitly in *Cencrastus*.

In *In Memoriam*, MacDiarmid introduces ideas relating to song in a way that

intersects with the new citational poetics that the text is developing and commenting on. This is first indicated by the source for this passage, which the text indicates in a footnote as *Sinus Tone Production*, a book published in 1938 by Ernest George White, a singer who had lost his voice in the early 1880s and who had gone on to develop a system for vocal training that became known as White's Technique. Internal evidence suggests that MacDiarmid took his material for this passage from a single source that is related to *Sinus Tone Production* — such as a review — rather than the text itself. However, the point of this passage is to direct the reader to White's work as an example of a necessary and comprehensive break from the techniques and approaches that have preceded it. This can be seen in the way in which *In Memoriam* frames its consideration of White's work with a series of images related to human self delusion:

... 'the lies by which we live,'
... the Thyestean banquet of clap trap,
The monstrous superstructure almost everyone erects
On an incredible ignorance of even the barest facts,
— An ignorance people cannot *believe* they have
Assuming that they are entitled to their own opinions
And never doubting they have sufficient sense to go by — (746)

White's work is then presented as "Germaine to this poem, and most amazing instance perhaps / Of the lengths to which malicious misrepresentations goes / And the *suppresio veri* that accompanies it everywhere", in contrast with the "colossal superstructure [that] has been built / On the false foundation of the vocal cords theory", in relation to which "Doctors, singing masters, vocalists, and all concerned / Are inextricably caught in the network of falsity" (746). The speaker then goes on to reinforce the idea that song should be taken as a metaphor for *In Memoriam*'s own poetics:

(What? Complaint that I should sing
Of philological, literary and musical matters

Rather than of daffodils and nightingales,
Mountains, seas, stars and like properties? (749)

The speaker is presented here as a singer, and perceives that the novelty of their subject matter will face resistance in much the same way as that faced by White's work on voice: that is, originating from a dogmatic investment in a set of preconceptions about what voice (or poetry) might be. White's work on voice therefore serves as a metaphor for the role of a new poetics, and for the degree to which this new poetics might differ from what has come before.

“Hence this hapax legomenon of a poem”

The introduction of Joyce and then of the idea of vocalised language — and especially song — therefore continues the development of the Celtic brotherhood/mind of Europe idea and — thematically, at least — of *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics.

This is a continuation of the response to the idea of English as a universal or global language that is introduced in the opening lines of this section of the text. But the “lies by which we live” fragment connects global English with a nexus of ideas related to the negative consequences and impact of modernity. This connection is sustained throughout the remainder of *In Memoriam*. In addition to direct references to the changing status of English as a global language, the text makes repeated references to phenomena to which it is connected and thereby gradually builds a picture of the way in which these negative consequences of modernity are inextricably linked to global English. This becomes increasingly important in later sections of the text, including “The Snares of Varuna” where it is connected with the British Empire. But it is also present in two further passages in the first section of *In Memoriam*, which consider the impact of popular radio and — through a consideration of the work of the Austrian writer Karl Krauss — the powerlessness of satire as a riposte to Nazism. In both cases, the “world language” — that is, the text's citational poetics — is presented as a potential response.

The radio passage opens with an extension of the thread that has connected written language to vocalised language earlier in the text. This thread now includes language that is broadcast through radio: that is, a technology which was highly significant in the spread of global English in the twentieth century. The radio programmes referred to by the speaker are characterised by a sense of uniformity that echoes the “lies by which we live” fragment from the Joyce passage: “They imitate each other. They are anxious, / Mechanical, cut-to-pattern”, and give the impression that “Everything appears to be mass-produced, stencilled” (753, 754). They are also influenced by the culture of the United States, with “their imitations of Hollywood film stars / (Always the same ones), their pseudo-American accents” and “some odd approximation / To the accents of Michigan or Arkansas” (753-4, 754). The text therefore begins a direct consideration of the technological modernity that MacDiarmid contended to necessitate a new poetics. But it also restates *In Memoriam*’s preoccupation with themes that are connected to the changing status of English as a global language. As David Crystal notes, the development of radio technology enabled this particular version of vocalised language to be heard instantly in multiple locations that were a great distance from each other and from the point of origin of the material that was being broadcast. This phenomenon disregards national borders and other linguistic boundaries, carries relatively little cost compared to other forms of distribution, and, once the technology is in place to allow a radio signal to be received, only requires competency in understanding spoken English — rather than full literacy in the language — in order to be consumed.⁶ Combined, these factors meant that radio had a significant impact on the rise of English as a global language in the twentieth century. The emphasis *In Memoriam* places here on Americanisation is particularly relevant in this context since — as Crystal observes — the social, political, technological and economic developments that informed the rise of global English

6. This lowering of the literacy barrier was particularly important to the spread of global English in the twentieth century since while literacy in the UK and in the United States was close to 100% at start of *In Memoriam*’s composition process, world literacy at this time was only around one-third, rising to around 60% by the 1960s.

in the first half of the twentieth century were specifically connected to the United States and its rise as a global superpower.

The speaker declares that “We are for the very opposite then / Of these radio variety programmes / — Many programmes but no variety” (753). The use of “then” at the end of the first of these lines links the passage back to the argument of the text that has preceded it. More specifically, the “We” that opens the first line refers back to the participants in the aonach to which Joyce was welcomed — that is, to the Celtic brotherhood/mind of Europe idea that underpins the development of *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics — which was itself introduced with a repeated use of “we” (746). The opposition that the aonach presents to monotonous radio broadcasting is clarified later in the passage:

Hence this hapax legomenon of a poem, this exercise
In schablone, bordatini, and prolonged scordatura,
This divertissement philologique,
This Wortspiel, this torch symphony,
This ‘liberal education,’ this collection of fonds de tiroir,
This — even more than Kierkegaard’s
‘Frygt og Baeven’ — ‘dialectical lyric,’
This rag-bag, this Loch Ness monster, this impact
Of the whole range of Weltliteratur on one man’s brain (755).

These nine lines make use of six European languages — Latin, German, Italian, French, English and Danish — to describe *In Memoriam*, a poem whose uniqueness (in contrast to the “anxious, / Mechanical, cut-to-pattern ... mass-produced, stencilled” American-influenced radio shows) leads it to be described as a “hapax legomenon of a poem” (753-4, 755). This description suggests that *In Memoriam* is intended as a game or entertainment (“divertissement philologique”, “Wortspiel”) that is generated through the arrangement of cast-offs (“this collection or *fonds de tiroir*”, “This rag-bag”) and a poetic “scordatura”, a musical term that describes the non-standard tuning of

an instrument (755). However, while this poetic approach is clearly a response to one form of radio broadcasting, it does not represent a totalised rejection of radio broadcasting. On one level it reflects what Michael Coyle has described as the way in which the “idealistic model of radio ... had largely faded by the 1940s” (192). But on another level, the description of *In Memoriam* draws on an earlier, more optimistic version of radio. Coyle has drawn parallels between BBC Director General John Reith’s “conviction that radio could have the effect of ‘making the nation as one man’”, T. S. Eliot’s enduring optimism regarding radio’s transformative potential, and the mind of Europe as described in “Tradition and the Individual Talent” (191). These parallels are particularly relevant in the context of understanding *In Memoriam* in terms of its citational poetics. The first reference to *In Memoriam* — i.e., the *hapax legomenon* — in fact *identifies* the text with the Americanized popular radio described earlier in the text as “mass-produced, stencilled” (754). *In Memoriam* is described as an “exercise / In schablone” (755). Schablone is — perhaps surprisingly alongside the Italian “bordatini” and “scordatura” — a German word, which translates to “stencil” or “template” and has figurative meanings associated with routine, cliché, and stereotyped thinking (“Schablone”).⁷ It therefore calls back to the “mass-produced, stencilled” popular broadcasts; and, with this connection established, “scordatura” suggests a pun on the “retuning” of a musical instrument and the “retuning” of a radio (754).

While *In Memoriam*’s poetics are a response to the reifying effects of technological modernity and global English — “Hence this *hapax legomenon* of a poem” — they are not in straightforward opposition or rejection to them. The text recognises instead that its poetics are very much a product of the trends to which they are responding. This recognition is developed further by a fragment that

7. When the version of *Mature Art* that would evolve into *In Memoriam* was being prepared for publication in Paris in the late 1930s, MacDiarmid’s publisher issued a prospectus titled *Mature Art: An Exercise in Schlabone, Bordatini, and Scordatura*. The incorrect spelling of “schablone” was retained in the 1955 edition of *In Memoriam*, but was corrected in the second impression published in 1956. A copy of the prospectus for *Mature Art* is held at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale.

is included between the popular radio and Karl Krauss sections. In this fragment, *In Memoriam* continues the legitimisation of its own citational poetics that was begun with the references to translation:

There is urgent need for a new humanism.
(And to that end we must have a language
As personal as Chinese calligraphy
— When a Chinese calligrapher ‘copies’
The work of an old master it is not
A forged facsimile but an interpretation
As personal within stylistic limits
As a Samuel or Landowska performance
Of a Bach partita (765)⁸

The act of copying is presented as being central to the urgently needed “new humanism”. But the kind of copying specified by the text is itself a creative act. This repeats the stencilled/schablone couple from the previous passage of the text, and connects it more explicitly with *In Memoriam*’s own citational poetics. The way copying is presented here is therefore analogous to the presentation of translation earlier in the section. The Karl Krauss passage picks up that theme, and complicates the way in which the text has used ideas relating to translation in order to legitimise its citational poetics. The passage also continues the development of the theme that has connected written language to vocalised language and then to its modern development, broadcast language. While the text returns to a consideration of written language — and the creative transformations of language that satire undertakes — a consideration of its source materials highlights the way in which it also extends the thematic development to consider a silence that exists beyond the limits of language,

8. The precise source for this fragment is not known, but in a letter he sends to the *TLS* as part of the debate concerning MacDiarmid’s appropriation of other writers’ work, Hugh Gordon Porteus claims that the final six lines are taken from an article he had written “twenty years earlier” and goes on to imply that the article had been published in the *New English Weekly*, a publication to which Porteus contributed a number of articles (Kier et al, ““Mr MacDiarmid and Dr Grieve.”, 4 February 1965, 87).

and what might exist beyond that silence. All of this continues to be developed in the context of ideas relating to global English and modernity: the international media that developed prior to and alongside radio broadcasting, and the new political systems and ideologies that developed alongside them.

The passage focuses on Kraus's 1933 satire of Hitler and Nazism, *Die Dritte Walpurgisnacht*. The speaker claims that Kraus's satire is grounded in a "metamorphosis of the commonplace": a "technique" of "literal quotation" through which he created "another context for the trivial" and which led to a "satirical effect" that was "annihilating" (769-70). These references to satire as recontextualisation offer a direct description of *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics, which itself makes use of literal quotation from the commonplace and trivial alongside satire, such as when the speaker remembers the time their addressee "laughed like hell" at Pape's concept of Universal English (738). But they also locate satire alongside earlier references to translation as metaphors or legitimisations for the text's own citational poetics. However, while earlier allusions to translation have emphasised its artistry — "Knowing even in the case of an excellent translation, / How the original French has the ring of Venetian glass / But the English of Waterford" — here the text focuses on the limits of translation (755). Towards the beginning of the Kraus passage, the speaker states that the structure of German is such that a writer or speaker of that language "Risks revealing himself as an idiot / Or a scoundrel through the ring and rhythm / Of his first sentence", in contrast to the writer or speaker of English, who is "protected by the tact and wisdom / Of linguistic convention" (767). These linguistic specificities have immense consequences:

... Had Hitler's speeches
Been accessible to the West in their unspeakable original
We might have been spared the War
For the War was partly caused
By Hitler's innocent translators

Unavoidably missing in smooth and diplomatic

French or English the original's diabolic resonance. (767)

Having arrived at the limits of translation — and, therefore, of language itself — the speaker observes that satire, too, has its limits:

It is the limitation of the satirical faith

That its emphasis is on a world

Whose heart is not safe from total corruption.

Satire ends at the very point

Where hatred of the world's abuses

Becomes irrelevant, because the world itself

Has ceased to be lovable. (774)

In other words, “It was the end of Kraus’s satirical world / When Hitler came to power” (775). Whereas the possibility of a world language is still metaphorically present, the emphasis here is on language being pushed to its limits by the extreme realities of political modernity. While translation retains its association with citation and *In Memoriam*’s world language, the specific act of translation the text describes ends up removing the “diabolic resonance” of Hitler’s speeches. Translation — at least, translation into global English or its forerunner as a lingua franca, French — therefore risks becoming reductive, in a similar way to that observed by the speaker in response to Pape’s declaration of the destiny of English as “the Universal Language” (738).

The Kraus passage pushes past this failure of language and the resulting silence to consider what exists beyond that silence. Silence is therefore characterised as meaningful presence rather than meaningless absence, in a way that recalls the two lines that bracket the final five stanzas of *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*: “Yet ha’e I Silence left, the croon o’ a’ ... O I ha’e Silence left” (166-7). This extends the thematic thread that runs from the first page of the text, beginning with written language and moving through vocalised language and on to two interactions of language and modernity: language as broadcast by radio (itself an important causal factor in the

changing status of English as a global language) and the powerlessness of language in the face of modern political totalitarianism. The extent to which *In Memoriam* intends at this stage to stress this idea of a pregnant silence is suggested by the way in which it makes use of its source materials. Most of the material from which the Kraus passage was composed is taken from “Satirist in the Modern World”, an 8 May 1953 *TLS* review by Barrington Gates and Erich Heller covering an edition of *Die dritte Walpurgisnacht* and Werner Kraft’s biography of Kraus: indeed, a footnote to the first line of the passage explicitly cites this review.⁹ The passage makes use of material from more or less the entirety of the review, with the first excerpt beginning on line 25 of the article and the excerpt ending only 26 lines before the end of the article. However, it uses only half of the review’s text. *In Memoriam* discards introductory material, and material that provides biographical or bibliographical context, in order to focus on the formal aspects of Kraus’s technique. Indeed, the only contextual material included is that which refers to the limitations of those techniques: that is, to the way in which satire fails when “the world itself / Has ceased to be lovable” (774).

With one source providing so much of the material in this passage, the way in which further sources are used is especially suggestive of the meaning the text intends to create. There are two separate instances of this, both of which develop the idea of silence. One is seven lines long and another 47, and both occur towards the middle of the passage and split a passage that would be 88 lines long and based on a source

9. The first paragraph of the footnote reads “Vide *Times Literary Supplement*, 8th May, 1953. Compare David Urquhart’s *The Effect of the Misuse of Familiar Words on the Character of Men and the Fate of Nations*”. Urquhart is not referred to again in *In Memoriam*, and neither Urquhart nor *Familiar Words* are referred to at all in the cited *TLS* article. However, in the first, “Introductory” chapter of *Lucky Poet*, MacDiarmid quotes at length from an unpublished lecture by George Davie in which Davie himself refers to MacDiarmid’s essay “Charles Doughty and the Need for Heroic Poetry” and the way in which it “argues that the time is ripe for a complete change in the formal side of poetry ... precisely because a completely new content — the interests of the coming communist era — demand expression” (qtd in *Lucky* 25). In the same extract, Davie goes on to refer to Urquhart and *Familiar Words*, summarising its argument regarding “the evil effect the Industrial Revolution had on the language of the nation, and consequently on the language of the upper classes, which became a verbose jargon, concealing rather than revealing objective meaning” and contending that “[t]his decadence of language ... was the chief reason why the ruling classes could not discern the national decline” (qtd in *Lucky* 25). This position, which Davie contends Doughty was “deeply impressed with ... and made ... his own, assimilating it completely” is very close to the approach the *TLS* reviewer ascribes to Kraus (qtd in *Lucky* 26).

fragment that is more or less continuous and which accounts for almost a third of the material that *In Memoriam* takes from the “Satirist” review. Both of the fragments that deviate from the review offer a formal contrast with the rest of the section, as they bring together multiple sources that are often very short. This change is reflected in the text that is directly available to the reader, with two of these passages presented in much shorter verse paragraphs than those used to present the Krauss material, and a third flitting between multiple analogies and metaphors for silence. Indeed, it is this theme that is emphasised by the introduction of the material that is additional to that taken from the *TLS*; and this material in turn specifies the kind of silence that is present in the text. The first, shorter passage pivots on the “silence” that is introduced in the preceding lines — “The word with which silence speaks / Its own silence without breaking it”:

(Silence supervening at poetry’s height,
 Like the haemolytic streptococcus
 In the sore throat preceding rheumatic fever
 But which, at the height of the sickness,
 Is no longer there, but has been and gone !
 Or as ‘laughter is the representative of tragedy
 When tragedy is away.’) (771)¹⁰

This fragment introduces two figurative renderings of silence: the scientific “haemolytic streptococcus” and a laughter that is representative of the absence of tragedy. The conjunction of these renderings through the use of “Or” in the penultimate line suggests that the speaker is embarking on an extended series of metaphors.¹¹ The

10. The overt quotation “laughter is the representative of tragedy / When tragedy is away” is taken from Wyndham Lewis’s 1917 story “Inferior Religions”, which was included in the 1927 collection *The Wild Body*. However, it seems likely that MacDiarmid took the quotation from Geoffrey Wagner’s essay on *The Wild Body* that appeared in the winter 1953-54 issue of the literary magazine *Nine*. It is the opening third of a longer quotation that Wagner takes from *The Wild Body*, and MacDiarmid appears to quote from the same issue of *Nine* on page 749 of *In Memoriam*: “‘The more a poet can open himself to the world / The more he can embrace life directly, / The better poetry he is likely to write’” appears on page 63, in Philip Sherrard’s review of David Gascoyne’s collection *A Vagrant and Other Poems*.

11. Extended series — or catalogues — of metaphors are a common formal element of *In*

series is contained within parentheses and cut short, but is soon revisited. At this point, the interconnection between presence and absence is developed so that the silence itself becomes charged with some new meaning:

So beyond all that is heteroepic, holophrastic,
Macaronic, philomathic, psychopetal,
Jerqueing every idioticon,
Comes this supreme paraleipsis (771)

These lines evoke the description of *In Memoriam* as a response to Americanised popular radio broadcasting — “this *hapax legomenon* of a poem, the exercise / In schablone, bordatini, and prolonged scordatura” — offering similar descriptions of the text’s poetics (755). But beyond the text itself is this “paraleipsis”, an emphasis through absence that the speaker alluded to immediately before the first address to Joyce and the transition from written to vocalised language, when they stated that “all this here, everything I write, of course / Is an extended metaphor for something I never mention” (745).

By placing this potent silence beyond the meaning that is explicit in the text — and beyond the citational and heteroglossic aspects of the text’s poetics — the speaker begins to address their concerns regarding the limitations and failure of language as a response to the political and technological modernity that underpinned the development of global English. The “supreme paraleipsis” fragment introduces the longest continuous part of the Karl Krauss passage that is not taken from the *TLS* “Satirist” review. Here, the text makes repeated reference to the artistic use of absence and silence in the creation of meaning. For example:

(O poet, hold thy peace and be content !)
Like the amount of material never heard at all
In the six dumky of Dvořák’s Opus 90,
Possibly a third of the music never heard at all

Memoriam. They are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Yet the *Trio* is one of his most remarkable works

Though I doubt if any performance

Can realise all that's implicit in the score. (772)

This is followed by mention of Paul Valéry's "Monsieur Teste who 'dies without confessing'", and the way in which Heidegger's concept of Conscience

Is unfamiliar to 'oneself' in its everydayness

And speaks in the uncanny mode of silence

To call the self back into the silence

Of the 'existent' potentiality of being. (772-3)

Here, then, *In Memoriam* prefigures the self-doubt — and, through the consideration of Dvorák (and via a separate reference to Paul Hindemith) the musicality — of its final section, "Plaited Like the Generations of Men", which is considered in Chapter Six.

The final passage of the first section of *In Memoriam* extends the language thread beyond this idea of silence. The text realises the potency of that silence by rooting its new poetics in a generalist approach that brings together science and art, thereby incorporating rather than rejecting aspects of the modernity to which it is a response. Moreover, the introduction of scientific discourse into *In Memoriam* resonates with work by Michel Foucault and Marilyn Randall on the role of authorship in scientific discourse.

This development takes place, moreover, within the context of some of *In Memoriam*'s most explicit thematic references to what we would now refer to as global English. The text revisits the idea of English as a "Universal Language", as introduced at the start of the section with the long quotation from A. G. Pape's novel *The Politics of the Aryan Road* (738). There, the speaker's response to Pape's advocacy of global English was to ridicule it, and then to introduce the text's "world language" — including its citational poetics — as a counterpoint. Here, the speaker's critique of global English is more direct and analytical, and more explicitly concerned with its

cultural political implications. The text takes issue with “those who are the leading advocates of Basic English to-day” (789). Basic, a version of English that is simplified in order to make it easier to learn, was developed by the philosopher Charles Kay Ogden in the late 1920s and later promoted by the New Critic I. A. Richards. It achieved its greatest popularity in the years immediately following the Second World War. Indeed, the source from which the material on Basic is taken is *Europe Free and United*, a 1945 study of the future of post-war Europe by the scholar of comparative and world literature Albert Léon Guérard. *In Memoriam* draws on the “Freedom of Speech” chapter, which discusses the language that might be used to communicate between different European nations. The text is therefore revisiting the intersection between language and political modernity that was examined in the Karl Krauss passage. In that passage, the speaker considered the failure of language in the face of totalitarianism. *Europe Free and United* is preoccupied with the ways in which linguistic pitfalls might be avoided, so that genuine international comity might come about in place of totalitarianism. The passage of the text cited in *In Memoriam* quotes from and discusses I. A. Richards’ 1943 work *Basic English and its Uses*. As the critic Morag Shiach has written,

Ogden and Richards were thus committed to the development of a common international language as a means to create a people that would not be bound by frontiers, a global citizenry able to draw on the resources of new communications technologies such as radio, telephone, and cinema to construct a distinctly modern version of community. (26)

Basic originates, therefore, in precisely the nexus of technologies that Crystal cites as being central to the development of English as a global language, and which I have argued are a recurring preoccupation for *In Memoriam*.

On one level, the Basic English passage revisits the ideas relating to the possibility that English might become a “Universal Language” that are developed in the first lines of the section (738). There, the speaker responds to the idea with laughter

and by outlining a poetic alternative — i.e., the world language of *In Memoriam*'s own poetics. In the Basic English passage, the text can be seen initially to use a similar approach. Almost immediately before the Basic English passage, *In Memoriam* quotes from Richards' 1932 book *Mencius on the Mind: Experiments in Multiple Definition*:

... a generation which is cheerfully becoming
More and more self-, sex-, race-, and world-conscious
Should not complain if it is required to become word-conscious also.
And in such word-consciousness may be found
The solvent for most other problems. (788)

In Memoriam cites this material in a footnote, thereby flagging it up as Richards' work and establishing a connection with Richards' comments on Basic English, which the text also flags up as having been made by Richards.¹² In connecting the material in this way, *In Memoriam* revisits the technique of contrasting proto-global English with a nuanced, multiform world language. In so doing, the text emphasises its criticism of the normative centralisation of English as a prospective global language. But this technique is soon replaced by a direct analysis of the issues surrounding the use of English as a global language. The text contends that Richard's advocacy of Basic "Betrays, or rather displays, / The magnificent insularity / Which is the pride of the Anglo-Saxon mind", and goes on to argue that "the adoption of English as the supra-national language / Would imply the acknowledgment of Anglo-Saxon supremacy" (789). Instead, an auxiliary language "must be clear from any threat / To the economic, moral, cultural, social or political / Status of any person or any people"; moreover, "It must carry no implications / Of intellectual, technological, or other domination" (789). In other words,

All dreams of 'imperialism' must be exorcised,
Including linguistic imperialism, which sums up all the rest.

12. MacDiarmid's use of the footnote, "Vide I. A. Richards: *Mencius on the Mind. Experiments in Multiple Definition*", is misleading (788n1). It refers to a three-line passage that is set off from the main text by single inverted commas. However, the material around this passage is also taken (almost entirely) from *Mencius*, so that the actual citation from that text is in the region of 28 lines long.

The best policy would be to apply

The method of Basic, not to English,

But to the vast international vocabulary which already exists. (790)

The speaker has therefore adopted a position that is close to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis regarding linguistic relativism, as developed by thinkers such as Wilhelm von Humboldt, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee-Whorf: that is, a position that asserts that worldview is determined, or at least influenced, by the language an individual or group uses. Indeed, a significant defender of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Ernst Cassirer, is referred to a few pages later, when the speaker contrasts “the theory that language / Reduplicates or reconstructs a pre-existently given world” with “the theory outlined / in Cassirer’s masterly discussion of speech / In his *Philosophy der Symbolischen Formen*” (794).

There is a sense that the difference between these two approaches (that is, the immediate outlining of a poetic alternative to global English in the opening section of the text, and the analytical approach of the Basic England passage) has been brought about by the exploratory process the speaker has undertaken in the first section of the text. The piling up of ideas has led to a point where the central thesis of the section can be stated: the trends that were leading to what would come to be referred to as global English are rooted in what the speaker perceives to be Anglo-Saxon imperialism: that is, a similar phenomenon to that described in “English Ascendancy in British Literature”. Beginning from this starting point, *In Memoriam* explicates an understanding of its own poetics that emphasises the way in which they represent a generalist coming together of science and art, with the introduction of scientific discourse having specific implications for the text’s use of citation. The origins of this generalism and its relationship with the changing status of English as a global language can be inferred by tracing the use of the term “imperialism” in the text. It occurs only three times in the first section of *In Memoriam*: twice in the description of how “All dreams of ‘imperialism’ must be exorcised, / Including linguistic

imperialism, which sums up all the rest”, and once in a slightly earlier fragment:

Loathing all Imperialisms, colour-bars, and class-distinctions

And, equally, the classic seeking the final average

And the romantic seeking the final variation,

I seek a ground ...

...

The point where science and art can meet,

For there are two kinds of knowledge,

Knowing about things and knowing things,

Scientific data and aesthetic realisation,

And I seek their perfect fusion in my work. (790, 782)

A few lines before this fragment, the speaker asserts the need for a “Scientific instrument” that can determine the laws that govern the perpetual historical return of “certain fundamental ideas” (781). This instrument would facilitate the creation of “a history of philosophy written / In accordance with the historical-materialist method” (781). The scientific instrument therefore seems to be scientific Marxism, and this understanding of science therefore should be taken as informing the version of science that is part of the “perfect fusion” of science and art that the speaker goes on to seek in their own poetics (782). It is described as “the object of *our* quest, my friend” (781). However, it is not immediately clear who the intended addressee is here. The speaker has not used this form of address since page 757, when they remarked “So I think of you, Joyce, and of Yeats and others who are dead” (757). Moreover, a few lines earlier the speaker refers to Yeats as “my friend” in a reference to their shared “single-minded zeal, this fanatic devotion to art” (757).

The “friend” in the line “the object of our quest, my friend” could therefore be Yeats. The gap between the two instances of this phrasing — twenty-five pages, or 840 lines; over one third of the entire first section of the text — certainly seems long, but further evidence for this reading can be found through a consideration of

the source materials used in the intervening lines. Those include three articles used in the composition of the 336-line Karl Krauss passage: “Satirist in the Modern World”, the *TLS* article that forms the basis of most of the passage, a further *TLS* article titled “Fruit of Contemplation” and a *Listener* article titled “The Chamber Music of Dvorak”. The first of these articles was published in 1953, with the other two not published until 1954. Moreover, further sources that are dated towards the end of *In Memoriam*’s composition timeline are used between the two references to the speaker’s “friend”, and the known sources around those references cluster around the late 1930s: that is, towards the end of the composition process of the shorter manuscript that was submitted to T. S. Eliot and then to Jack Kahane at the Obelisk Press. The addition of the later material therefore obfuscates what would otherwise be a clear connection between Yeats and the “friend” who shares the “object” of the speaker’s “quest”.¹³ This therefore suggests that the “Scientific instrument” in one way represents the poetics that the speaker of *In Memoriam* is developing.

The instrument also becomes a symbol for a generalist poetics that hybridises art and science as a way of moving beyond the “imperialisms” *In Memoriam* identifies in Basic English. The speaker states that they “seek a ground”, which they specify as “The point where science and art can meet”, before going on to posit “A language, a poetry, in keeping with the new quantum mechanics” and “A poetry in keeping with the human nervous system” (782). This material is taken from Alfred Korzybski’s 1933 book *Science and Sanity*, and is in large part a restatement of an argument MacDiarmid alludes to in *Lucky Poet* when he posits a “test paper for literary aspirants” that would ask “for a poem on the fact that what is known as the ‘Lorentz’ transformation looks like the ‘Einstein transformation’” (348). Indeed, these lines are also sourced from *Science and Sanity*; their enduring relevance to MacDiarmid is evidenced by the way

13. As described in Chapter Two, in a letter dated 31 August 1957 that the publisher of *In Memoriam*, William MacLellan, sent to MacDiarmid, he claims that MacDiarmid “added 25% to the poem on the backs of the galleys of the first proofs” (424). This claim seems to be backed up by the advert for *In Memoriam* published in MacLellan’s *Scottish Journal*, which describes the text as being “4,000 lines long”, far short of the 6,000 lines the poem eventually ran to.

in which he quotes from them in 1960 in a contribution to *X: A Quarterly Review*. In addition to the connection back to the earlier material relating to Yeats — i.e., to the Celtic brotherhood/mind of Europe idea, and to ideas related to citation — when considered in the context of the work of Michel Foucault and Marilyn Randall, the introduction of ideas relating to scientific discourse alludes to the concept of citation directly. As Foucault points out in “What Is an Author?”, “[t]exts ... that we now call “scientific” ... were only considered truthful during the Middle Ages if the name of the author was indicated” (125-6). However, Foucault notes that following the disciplinary specialisation that took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, “scientific texts were accepted on their own merits and positioned within an anonymous and coherent conceptual system of established truths and methods of verification ... the role of the author disappeared as an index of truthfulness” (126). Simultaneously, “literary” discourse was acceptable only if it carried an author’s name; every text of poetry or fiction was obliged to state its author and the date, place, and circumstance of its writing. The meaning and value attributed to the text depend on this information. (126)

As Marilyn Randall demonstrates, Foucault’s understanding of the author function is central to understanding the concepts of imperial and guerrilla plagiarism. But if scientific discourse is distinguished by the way in which it is *not* endowed with the author function, its role in *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics — which is itself an example of guerrilla plagiarism, and is influenced by imperial plagiarism’s use of translation — is immediately complex. For example, *In Memoriam*’s use of citation causes scientific discourse to be relocated in a literary context. This practise involves taking material from a context where the author function is absent and placing it within a context where the author function is not only present, but is also complicated by *In Memoriam*’s use of citation: to what extent does the author function of a source text persist when that text is transliterated to *In Memoriam*, and to what extent does *In Memoriam*’s own author function subsume that of its source texts?

In Memoriam's paratexts and its first section have foregrounded the text's citational poetics. In the first section, this process was bracketed by explicit engagements with themes relating to the changing status of English as a global language: the contention, at the start of the section, that "English is destined to become the Universal Language", and the implications, at the end, of the role of Basic English as a "neutral" auxiliary language. Through developing a thread that connects written, vocalised, and broadcast language to the limits of language in the context of technological and political modernity, the first section of the text requires the speaker to move "beyond all that is heteroepic, holophrastic, / Macaronic, philomathic, psychopetal", and on to "this supreme paraleipsis, / Full of potential song as a humming bird / Is full of potential motion" (771). In order to do this, the speaker must "seek a ground" from which to respond to the "linguistic imperialism" they perceive to be present in global English (782, 790). They find this at "The point where science and art can meet", suggesting that it is at this point that "*Creative work has begun*" (782, 784). This sentiment suggests that the text up to this point has been something of a preamble: a working out of ideas that will become more fully developed later in *In Memoriam*. Indeed, the text's generalism is developed further in the next section of the text, "The World of Words". In Chapter Five I examine (amongst other things) the ways in which that section develops the text's citational poetics to include an intersection between generalism and a Futurist simultaneism.

Chapter Five

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how *In Memoriam*'s paratexts and first section foreground the text's citational poetics and connect the text's use of citation with the changing status of English as a global language. The text's second section, "The World of Words", continues to develop such connections. In this chapter I argue that "The World of Words" deploys what I describe as generalist and simultaneist strategies. Reading "The World of Words" in this light allows me to continue to demonstrate the connections between the formal aspects of *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics and the themes I identified in the previous chapter. While the previous chapter focused on the way in which *In Memoriam*'s paratexts and first section developed the text's main themes, in this chapter I focus on the way in which "The World of Words" deploys some of *In Memoriam*'s most common forms of citation. These include catalogues, where the speaker lists a series of names, books, etc.; and extended metaphors, where the speaker develops a metaphorical space through the use of a particular theme, such as types of wood, Arctic exploration, or breeds of sheep. They also include instances of what I term "second order" citation, where the text cites a source such as a *Times Literary Supplement* review that is itself citing a further source, as well as the way in which the section makes use of source material that was often paratextual in its original context, including advertising copy and footnotes. I show how these uses of citation create instances of recontextualisation — such as when scientific material is presented in the context of a literary work — that create new meanings in and of themselves. While every section of *In Memoriam* makes use of these forms of citation, "The World of Words" includes some of their most complex

examples.

As its title suggests, “The World of Words” maintains the most explicit and detailed preoccupation with language of any section in the text. Through this preoccupation with language, the section continues the development of a nexus of ideas that interconnect *In Memoriam*’s use of citation with ideas related to the changing status of English as a global language. In this chapter, I specifically consider some of those ideas that are related to or derived from an increasingly globalised English language print culture that was itself a contributing factor in the development of global English, and which was underpinned — as David Crystal has observed — by three interconnected nineteenth century trends. Firstly, the population of the British Empire — and therefore the number of people exposed to the English language — increased by around 400 million between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the start of the First World War, an increase of around 635 per cent. Secondly, literacy rates in Britain increased sharply, especially in the second half of the century, with around 95 per cent of both men and women being literate in 1900, compared to only 40 per cent of women and 60 per cent of men a century before. And, thirdly, technological developments in printing — and also in distribution, including transportation technologies such as railways and improved roads — meant that the production volume of printed material such as books, magazines, and journals was able to increase greatly, and to meet the demand created by newly literate, English speaking consumers. I argue that “The World of Words” makes use of citation in a way that responds to global English print culture and to the international scientific, technological, and academic communities that developed alongside it.

I contend that these aspects of “The World of Words” engender the development of a generalist, simultaneist approach that engages with the way in which global English print culture has influenced the discourses of modernity. Moreover, the techniques and formal developments outlined in this chapter lead to a text that reflects the development of print culture in relation to the rise of global English, and

the massive new flows of information that this generated. “The World of Words” demonstrates how *In Memoriam* understands modernity as presenting the subject with multiple, competing perspectives which are generated through the print culture and intellectual and academic networks that are closely tied to the rise of global English. The text suggests that the best response to this volume and diversity of information is not to demarcate and focus on individual facets, but instead to develop an approach that facilitates the comprehension of all of its parts in relation to each other.

“Grab-bags and clichés, newspaper clippings, / Popular songs, advertising copy, / And expressions of innocence”: generalism and simultaneism

MacDiarmid gains his understanding of generalism in large part from the work of Patrick Geddes. As MacDiarmid writes of Geddes in *The Company I've Kept*,

his constant effort was to help people ... to think round the whole circle, not in scraps and bits. He knew that watertight compartments are useful only to a sinking ship, and traversed all the boundaries of separate subjects. (83)

Geddes described his own generalism in his final lecture at University College London, where he contended that a

general and educational point of view must be brought to bear on every specialism. The teacher's outlook should include all viewpoints. ... Hence we must cease to think merely in terms of separated departments and faculties and must relate these in the living mind; in the social mind as well — indeed, this above all (qtd. in Defries 172-90)

In Memoriam combines this Geddesian generalism with a version of simultaneism, a kind of literary cubism developed in the 1910s as an attempt to present multiple viewpoints at the same time. Simultaneism evokes the description of “world literature” offered by MacDiarmid in *Lucky Poet*, which references Gorky's *One Day in the World* and ascribes to Gorky the view that this work was intended to depict

a “complete picture ... of the motley chaos of modern life ... the artistic creative work of history during some one day” — something MacDiarmid refers to as “world consciousness” (135). The concept is explicitly introduced to *In Memoriam* in a fragment that appears towards the end of the text’s first section, and which appears to provide a commentary on the text’s citational poetics:

Yes, I will have all sorts
Of excruciating *bruitist* music,
Simultaneist poems,
Grab-bags and clichés, newspaper clippings,
Popular songs, advertising copy,
And expressions of innocence,
And abstract sounds---taking care
That one of them never turns out to be
Merely the Rumanian word for *schnapps* ;
And all dada, merz, fatagaga. (796)

The importance of simultaneism for the composition of *In Memoriam* is emphasised by the way in which this fragment makes use of its source materials. The main source here is John Patrick Richardson’s 23 October 1953 *TLS* review article “The Dada Movement”. However, the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines in the above quotation do not appear in that review, and are in fact taken from the text that Richardson is reviewing: the anthology of essays *The Dada Painters and Poets*. It is common for *In Memoriam* to copy a citation that has already been made by some other text: for example, by a *TLS* review that is quoting the text it is reviewing: indeed, this “second order citation” is considered in detail later in this chapter. However, this is the only known occasion when *In Memoriam* quotes from a review and then goes on to quote directly from the text that is being reviewed; i.e., by including material from that work that is not itself included in the review. *In Memoriam* connects the third line of the above quotation, “*Simultaneist* poems”, taken from the *TLS* review, with the “Grab-bags and clichés,

newspaper clippings, / Popular songs, advertising copy” taken from *The Dada Painters and Poets*. Simultaneism is therefore identified with one of *In Memoriam*’s most explicit descriptions of its own citational poetics.

The ways in which “The World of Words” makes use of citation speaks to an approach that is generalist and simultaneist, in both a thematic and formal sense. The section’s generalism is present as early as its epigraphs. The first epigraphs, “Words alone are certain good”, is attributed to Yeats, and is in fact taken from his early poem “The Song of the Happy Shepherd” (805). However, the second, longer epigraph is taken from the scientist J. B. S. Haldane’s “God-Makers”.¹ The use of the Haldane epigraph demonstrates a generalist approach in the way that it reflects on how language has been used to model the universe. Haldane contends that philosophers in the Middle Ages “tried to describe the universe in terms of substantives and adjectives, to which they attributed an independent existence under the name of substances and accidents or attributes” (805). Meanwhile, “[m]odern physicists” are attempting to describe the universe “in terms of verbs only, their favourite verb at the moment to undulate, or wiggle”, a reference to the then relatively new field of quantum mechanics (805). The Haldane epigraph is therefore a continuation of the scientific and mathematical material that emerged towards the end of the first section. However, in the way that the epigraph engages with the ways in which language shapes perception and defines the limitations of that perception, it refers less to the first section’s scientific and mathematical fragments and more to the Basic English passage. As with the linguistic relativism implied by the assertion that “the adoption of English as the supra-national language / Would imply the acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon supremacy”, the material from Haldane can be taken to hold, amongst other things, that the perception of reality is in part determined and limited by the language that is used to describe it (789). But it also makes a generalist extension of

1. “God-Makers” was first published in the 1931 edition of the *Rationalist Annual*, and was then republished in the 1932 Chatto & Windus edition of *The Inequality of Man*. However, based on the date distribution of sources used in *In Memoriam* it seems most likely that MacDiarmid took this material from the 1937 Pelican edition.

these ideas, thinking “round the whole circle” to argue that scientific understandings of the universe are not absolute, but are instead rooted in language and subject to re-assessment over time: thus, while quantum mechanics might supplement or supersede the natural philosophy of the Middle Ages, one day it in turn will itself presumably be superseded by a new conceptualisation. And, just as *In Memoriam* argues with regards to the assumptions implied by Basic English, the text holds that language does not only influence different understandings of the universe: it also reveals aspects of those understandings, such as how the philosophy of the Middle Ages” involved the “[n]eglecting of verbs” in favour of the use of “substantives and adjectives”.

“Your imagination is stirred by this simple / But wonderful Idea and Word Chart”

The epigraphs are followed by a passage that describes a futuristic “Idea and Word Chart” that “puts words and ideas at your finger tips” and opens “the flood-gates of the mind” (805). Alan Riach has described this device as “a semi-abstract vision of something like a universal word processor” that will clarify “formerly elusive meanings and words” (*Epic* 94). It is possible to follow Riach’s reading, along with work by critics such as Robert Crawford and Michael Whitworth, and to view the “Idea and Word Chart” in connection with Geddesian generalism.² In that reading, the Chart would be seen to refer forward to the last section of *In Memoriam*, “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”, which refers to “A new metaphysical calculus of sixty-four / Inter-related cardinal categories, of which thirty-six / Were the transmuted forms of the Geddesian concepts”; as well as back to the reference in closing passages of the first section of *In Memoriam* to

...Patrick Geddes’s ‘thinking graphics,’

Those folding square of paper on which

He juggled words like algebraic terms

2. See, for example, Crawford’s *The Modern Poet: Poetry, Academia, and Knowledge Since the 1750s*, page 47, and Whitworth’s “‘Strange Synthetic Perfumes’: Investigating Scientific Diction in Twentieth-Century Poetry”, page 97.

To gain a clearness of idea impossible

To get through prose exposition alone. (873, 801)

However, knowledge of the source materials that MacDiarmid drew on for this passage highlights the connections between the passage and the print culture that developed symbiotically with global English. Moreover, these connections are themselves indicative of the simultaneist nature of *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics. The source for the passage is an advert for a vocabulary aid — branded as an “Idea and Word Chart” — which was produced and sold by the Psychology Publishing Co., Ltd, of Marple, Cheshire (805). The reader of the advert is encouraged to “Send 1d. stamp TO-DAY for a specimen of the Idea and World Chart embodied in a descriptive brochure”. The advert also includes an endorsement, seemingly intended to refer to the Idea and Word Chart itself, by the popular novelist Gilbert Frankau, which is incorporated into the text of *In Memoriam*: “...it is the best adjunct I have so far discovered — it is not going to leave my desk”.

As I have argued, *In Memoriam*'s use of a wide range of prose sources is predicated on a set of phenomena which are fundamentally connected to the changing status of English as a global language. Print advertising developed symbiotically with this new print culture, with print adverts both providing the income that allowed new publications to come into existence and expand and also greatly contributing to the presentation of the content in these publications and therefore the context within which the content was read.³ The use of material taken from a print advertisement therefore locates *In Memoriam* even more firmly within this context. And this idea is reinforced when the specific advert under consideration here — for, supposedly, the “Idea and Word Chart” — is considered further, within the context that it originally appeared. Further print advertisements from the period demonstrate that the quotation from Frankau — “...it is the best adjunct I have so far discovered — it is not going to leave my desk” — is in fact taken from a longer endorsement in which

3. See, for example, the commentary in Chapter Three on the juxtaposition between Compton Mackenzie's welcome message in the first issue of *Vox* and the advert for The Linguaphone Language Institute published on the facing page.

THE TURNING-POINT IN YOUR CAREER
THE SUCCESS WRITERS' INSTITUTE
 W.S. 682 SEAHAM HOUSE, LONDON, S.W.19
 OR CALL AT 235 GRAND BUILDINGS, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.2

HERE IS AMAZING FACILITY
**Gives Astonishing New Mastery
 of WORDS and IDEAS**

EASY—QUICK—SURE. The exact word you want—when you want it. Elusive words easily captured and harnessed. New ideas spring to your mind. Your imagination is stirred by this simple but wonderful Idea and Word Chart. It provides brilliant word ideas at your finger-tips. It enables you to open the flood-gates of the mind and let the torrent of drama and tragedy—human strife, flaming love, raging passion, fiendish onslaught, splendid heroism—flow from your pen, leap into type and fly to your readers, to grip them and hold them enthralled by the fascinating spell of your power. Gilbert Frankau says—“... it is the best adjunct I have so far discovered—it is not going to leave my desk.”

Send 1d. stamp TO-DAY for a specimen of the Idea and Word Chart embodied in a descriptive brochure.

THE PSYCHOLOGY PUBLISHING CO., LTD.
 (Dept. WAT/HV15)
PSYCHOLOGY HOUSE, MARPLE, CHESHIRE

THE WORLD OF WORDS.

“Words alone are certain good.” —W. B. YEATS.

“The philosophy of the Middle Ages was the work of men who were ignorant of nature, but learned the Latin grammar. Neglecting the verbs, they tried to describe the universe in terms of substantives and adjectives, to which they attributed an independent existence under the name of substances and accidents or attributes. Modern physicists are engaged in a somewhat similar attempt to describe it in terms of verbs only, their favourite verb at the moment to undulate, or wiggle.” —J. B. S. HALDANE.

Easy—Quick—Sure—The exact word
 You want—when you want it.
 Elusive words easily captured and harnessed.
 New ideas spring to your mind.
 Your imagination is stirred by this simple
 But wonderful Idea and Word Chart.
 It puts words and ideas at your finger tips.
 It will enable you to open the flood-gates of the mind
 And let the torrent of drama and tragedy—
 Human strife, flaming love, raging passion,
 Fiendish onslaught, splendid heroism—
 Flow from your pen, leap into type
 And fly to your readers, to grip them and hold them
 Enthralled by the fascinating spell of your power.
 Gilbert Frankau says: “... it is
 The best adjunct I have so far discovered.”

We have of course studied thoroughly
 Alspach, English, and the others who have written
 On ‘Psychological Response to Unknown Proper Names,’
 Downey on ‘Individual Differences In Reaction to the Word-in-
 Itself,’
 Bullough on ‘The Perceptive Problem
 In the Aesthetic Appreciation of Single Colours,’

75

Top: the advert for the “Idea and Word Chart”

Bottom: the material from the advert, as it appeared in *In Memoriam*

Frankau is referring to Gustavus A. Hartrampf's *Vocabularies*, a 535-page quasi-thesaurus that was marketed as a tool that could be used to expand its user's vocabulary. Indeed, the advert that became MacDiarmid's source includes a picture of the Idea and Word Chart that is titled "Idea and Word Chart from *Hartrampf's Vocabularies* by Gustavus A Hartrampf". While the advert purports to be promoting the Idea and Word Chart, the final line of its copy suggests that it is in fact intended to encourage readers to pay to have a "descriptive brochure" promoting *Hartrampf's Vocabularies* shipped to them.

Furthermore, in taking material from a print advert *In Memoriam* specifically references its own description of simultaneism: "Grab-bags and clichés, newspaper clippings, / Popular songs, advertising copy" (796). But the way in which *In Memoriam* makes use of material like this involves a radical recontextualisation of that material which itself mimics the development of global English. When *In Memoriam* is read as a series of fragments taken from a range of source materials, the original meanings of the materials from which those fragments were developed are always contingent — to a greater or lesser extent — on the context within which that material appeared. This meaning is then modified by — amongst other techniques — the recontextualisation of a given source, usually after its having undergone some kind of transformation, alongside other sources that have been transformed in similar or different ways. The other fragments therefore provide a new context and new potential meanings for the fragment that is re-contextualised alongside them; however, the fragment that is being introduced to the rest of the text also serves to partially re-contextualise the fragments it is being placed alongside, creating a complex symbiotic network of subtly shifting contexts and potential meanings. It is difficult to give an absolute description of the overall nature and extent of the re-contextualisations undertaken in the composition of *In Memoriam*. However, some re-contextualisations are more radical or extensive than others. For example, relative to each other the Yeats epigraph at the start of "The World of Words" is arguably subjected to a less

radical re-contextualisation than the epigraph from Haldane, since its original context is lyric poetry rather than an essay. However, in another sense both epigraphs could be said to be subject to a less extensive re-contextualisation than, say, the quotation from Pape's novel at the start of the first section of *In Memoriam*, simply by the token that they are both set off from the main text of the poem and that de- and re-contextualisation are accepted parts of the practice of creating epigraphs. Similarly, the way in which the quotation from Pape is presented within inverted commas can be seen to limit the extent of its re-contextualisation when compared, for example, with the first known source that is used in *In Memoriam* without any indication (inverted commas, italics, footnote, etc) that it may have been appropriated: the twenty lines that run from "Hardy with words like lewth, leaves, dumble-dores" to "Every aspirant to the poetical purple invokes", which are taken from Benjamin Ifor Evans's 1933 work *English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century (739-80)*.⁴

The Idea and Word Chart source is of specific interest here as an example of the ways in which sources can be radically re-contextualised in *In Memoriam*. The use of advertising copy itself complicates this process, as discovering the fragment's original context remains difficult even with access to digital search indices. Print adverts often appear in multiple publications. Google Books demonstrates that the advert for the Idea and Word Chart appeared in a number of publications in the second half of the 1940s, including multiple publications that MacDiarmid is likely to have read, such as *The Spectator*, *The Scottish Educational Journal*, the *London Mercury*, and *The Welsh Review*.⁵ However, once the source material is accepted as being advertising copy, the specifics of its re-contextualisation within *In Memoriam* can be demonstrated. The source is presented more or less in its original form, with the only transformation being the addition of line breaks and the removal of a few words

4. While the lines from Ifor Evans are not themselves presented within inverted commas, the source that is included in *In Memoriam* does itself make use of quotations from other authors and some of these quotations are presented in inverted commas. Second-order citation such as this is discussed later in this chapter.

5. In a 28 January 1965 letter to the TLS MacDiarmid refers to *The Welsh Review* as "one of the periodicals I used to see" when he was living on Whalsay.

at the end of the fragment. Alan Riach, writing without knowledge of the fragment's source, has observed that the "tone and syntax of the verse combine to effect a spontaneity of announcement and affirmation" (*Epic* 94). Considering the "tone and syntax" of this passage in the broader context of *In Memoriam*, it in fact seems most similar to reflective lyric passages such as the "hawthorn tree" passage in the first section of the text, the "harebell" passage in "The Snares of Varuna", and the "realm of music" passage at the start of "Plaited Like the Generations of Men" (756-9, 844-5, 871-3). But while each of these cases involves the transformation of prose into verse, they are all derived from descriptive, linguistically rich prose sources: a novel, a newspaper article about visiting the English countryside, and a letter from a musician to his wife describing a transcendent "realm of music". The Idea and Word Chart passage is, by contrast, based on advertising copy: that is, written language that has a defined function — to cause the reader to enter into a transaction — and which is not usually subjected to close reading in the way that some of *In Memoriam*'s other source materials would be. While all of the transformations deployed in *In Memoriam* involve the re-contextualisation of their source material, some transformations involve a greater change of tone, form, or register than others. The Idea and Word Chart passage involves a more radical recontextualisation than the other lyric passages to which it can be compared.

The recontextualisations involved with every instance of citation in *In Memoriam* are a key aspect of the text's citational poetics, and reflect the linguistic recontextualisations that have occurred as a result of the changing status of English as a global language. *In Memoriam* brings its diverse source materials into contact with one another in a way that mimics the linguistic contact zones that have emerged as English came to be used internationally. As David Crystal has observed this process led to the development of English into localised variants, as it came into contact with other languages. This has led Crystal to propose that "[t]he future of world English is likely to be one of increasing multidialectism", and even a "multilingualism" that

suggests “the possible emergence of a family of English languages” that Crystal refers to as “New Englishes” (177-8). The way in which *In Memoriam* brings different source materials together also prefigures the collage approach that Susan Stanford Friedman has contended to be particularly useful for globalising literary and cultural studies” (5). Friedman’s collage “makes an archive of radical juxtaposition, through the paratactic cutting and pasting of narratives that are not typically read together” that “negotiates between sameness and difference by setting up a relational structure in which neither is privileged over the other” and which can “defamiliarize what we take for granted as ‘universal’” in a way that challenges the reification of cultural constructs and highlights the possibilities that are available when moving beyond those constructs (7). Here, then, we can see how *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics are not simply a direct oppositional response to global English, but instead relate symbiotically to global English, sometimes incorporating aspects of it and its related phenomena.

“We have of course studied thoroughly...”: *In Memoriam*’s catalogues

The sixteen lines that make up the Idea and Word Chart fragment are followed by a six page passage that shifts away from the reflective lyricism of the section’s opening and adopts a tone that ranges between the academic and the scientific (“We have of course studied thoroughly / ... / Of beasts, musical instruments, wild animals, and soul”) (805-11). The two main sources for this passage demonstrate the way in which “The World of Words” “moves in roughly the same territory as the first section of *In Memoriam*, but is directed more towards the psychology of readers’ reception and perception of words”, as Edwin Morgan has described; they also maintain *In Memoriam*’s generalist theme (*Crossing* 180). June E. Downey’s *Creative Imagination: Studies in the Psychology of Literature* is a collection of essays that take a scientific-psychological approach to “literary appreciation and creation”, and Maud Bodkin’s *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry* attempts “to bring psychological analysis and reflection to bear upon the imaginative experience communicated by great poetry” (vii, vii).⁶ But the passage is

6. The third source in this passage is an 18 September 1937 *TLS* review, which provides the

also an example of what I term the “catalogue technique”, which is deployed throughout *In Memoriam*. This technique contrasts formally with the extended exposition of a single idea that occurs in the text’s lyric passages. It presents, instead, a multiplicity of thematically connected ideas that are often expressed tersely and which run into and crowd in upon each other. Edwin Morgan has criticised *In Memoriam*’s use of catalogues, characterising them as a device that allows MacDiarmid to advertise “his admittedly astonishing and bulging stock of information” while generating a text where even a “well-read person will catch one or two references and see the point, but be merely tantalised and exasperated by the apparent multiplying of unknown and unnecessary variations” (“Jujitsu” 227). However, *In Memoriam*’s catalogues can and should be read primarily as formal devices that deliberately make use of a sense of overwhelming, unwieldy scale in order to reflect the subject’s relationship with the volume of information generated and communicated as a consequence of modernity. On a formal level the catalogue technique maintains the Geddesian generalist approach that is alluded to explicitly at various points in *In Memoriam* and which is hinted at by the Idea and Word Chart fragment. But it also continues the development of the simultaneist strand of the text. As I have argued, both of these aspects of *In Memoriam*’s poetics are related to the print culture that developed alongside the rise of global English. The catalogue technique therefore provides a formal metaphor for the massive amount of information generated and transmitted by print culture, while also suggesting ways in which *In Memoriam*’s new, citational poetics might respond to this phenomenon.

In the first few lines of this passage the text performs a double shift of register. The first part of the shift occurs at the level of the text’s source material, where *In Memoriam* exchanges advertising copy for academic-scientific discourse. The second part occurs at the surface level of the text. In contrast with the way in which the Idea and Word Chart fragment is included in *In Memoriam*, traces of the origins of this

material for the fifteen-line “And, of course, the ‘Vergnügliches Handbuch der Deutschen Sprache’ ... And a host of other subjects” passage on pp. 806-7.

passage remain present after its source material has been transformed. The catalogue developed here lists authors and titles of published works, often pairing one with the other:

We have of course studied thoroughly
Alspach, English, and the others who have written
On 'Psychological Response to Unknown Proper Names,'
Downey on 'Individual Difference In Reaction to the Word-in-Itself,'
Bullough on 'The Perceptive Problem
In the Aesthetic Appreciation of Single Colours,' (805)

A reader cannot reasonably be expected to have “studied thoroughly” the work of Alspach, English, Downey, Bullough, et al — indeed, it seems unlikely that MacDiarmid engaged with any of these authors in any depth. Morgan has observed that catalogues such as this “have a cumulative comic effect”, but contends that “MacDiarmid doesn't seem to see this”, arguing that while similar quasi-academic bibliographies in *Finnegans Wake* — supposedly a significant influence on *In Memoriam* — are undoubtedly parodic, *In Memoriam*'s use of a similar technique is not (“Jujitsu” 229). However, an analysis of the Downey-Bodkin catalogue shows that the comic, parody, or playful status of *In Memoriam*'s catalogues is arguably much more significant. This playfulness can be established both in reference to the surface level of the text and to the way in which it selects, transforms, and combines its source materials in the composition of the catalogue. Establishing this comically playful aspect of the catalogue technique provides further evidence that it should be read as a commentary on the information deluge that is engendered by print culture and global English, rather than a mechanism for the delivery of information.

In the surface level of *In Memoriam*, the reader is comically wrong-footed by the first two lines of the “Alspach, English” fragment, where the speaker declares that “We have of course studied thoroughly / Alspach, English” (805). On a first reading the meaning of “Alspach” is not clear, but placed next to “English” in the context of

In Memoriam it seems to refer to the constructed languages listed in the first section of the text: Occidental, Interlingua, and Novial (789). Alspach could be one of these languages, a play on “all speak”. But the second half of the line undermines this red herring, as Alspach and English are clarified as being academic writers who are amongst many others who are referenced by the text; these writers and the titles of their work make up the catalogue. Indeed, Alspach and English are cited as having “written / On ‘Psychological Response fo Unknown Proper Names’”: that is, precisely the phenomenon experienced by a reader when encountering the names Alspach and English without context. (805)

This misdirection is echoed by the way in which this catalogue is constructed from its source material. *In Memoriam*’s use of citation here blurs the distinction between a text and its paratexts, centring the paratexts and forcing readerly attention towards them in a similar way to how the Idea and Word Chart fragment worked to centre paratextual advertising copy. While the first source for the passage is Downey’s *Creative Imagination*, the references to authors and titles that appear in *In Memoriam* are not taken from that text’s footnotes. For example, the footnotes on page 64 of *Creative Imagination* direct the reader to two articles from the *American Journal of Psychology*, both titled “Psychological Response to Unknown Proper Names”, with the first being cited as having been published by Alspach in 1917 and the second as having been published by English in 1927.⁷ Downey’s “Individual Differences in Reaction to the Word-in-Itself” is cited in a footnote on page 60, and Bullough’s “The Perceptive Problem In the Aesthetic Appreciation of Single Colours” is cited in a footnote on page 86; the remaining author-title pairs in the catalogue are cited throughout the footnotes to *Creative Imagination*. The speaker sometimes appears to jump from page to page in the selection of footnotes, and at other times — such as the sequential references on page 806 to Downey, Ribot, and then Sterzinger — the selection of footnotes follows a discernible pattern. And while most of the author-ti-

7. While Downey’s citation referring to Alspach is accurate, she makes an error in the citation that refers to English: English’s article appeared in 1917, rather than 1927.

the pairs are presented without further reference to or description of the work in question, on some occasions — most notably, again, in the references to Downey, Ribot, and Sterzinger — the inclusion of information from a footnote in Downey’s book is coupled with the section of the main text that refers to that footnote. Where the catalogue does incorporate material from the main text of Downey’s work it does so only having first cited the text of a corresponding footnote, thereby giving that footnote precedence. So, while *In Memoriam* refers to

Ribot’s ‘L’Imagination Créatrice’ with its distinction between
 The plastic versus the different imagination,
 And pondered the differences in imagination related
 To variations in psychical temperament and differences in imaginal type,
 And recorded reactions to the degree of tolerance or liking
 For the exciting or for the depressive emotions (806)

Page 2 of *Creative Imagination* refers to “a difference that Ribot describes as the plastic imagination versus the diffluent of emotional imagination” and, around thirteen lines later how “these typical differences in imagination are related to variation in psychical temperament as well as to differences in imaginal type”; and on page 4, Downey claims that “[v]ery definite reactions have been recorded as to the degree of tolerance or liking for the depressive emotions ... and the exciting emotions”. However, the title “‘L’Imagination Créatrice’” is referred to only in a footnote which is indicated with a superscript “1” immediately following the word “Ribot” in the main body of the text of *Creative Imagination*.

In Chapter Four I described how *In Memoriam* uses its paratexts in order to direct readers towards its citational poetics. Here, the “Alspach, English” catalogue uses those citational poetics to repurpose a source’s paratexts within the main text of *In Memoriam*. This playful inversion of the relationship between text and paratext highlights the way in which the catalogue is not primarily a mechanism for the delivery of information, but instead a pastiche of the information deluge created by print

culture. Beginning with the segue from advertising copy to academic footnotes, the ironic impossibility of the rhetorical “We have of course studied thoroughly”, and the misdirection of “Alspach, English”, *In Memoriam* is constructed from materials generated by the networks that transmit and are shaped by global English, in order to communicate a sense of the massive information flows facilitated by those networks and, through references to generalism and simultaneism, to suggest ways in which poetry might develop in response to these changes.

The Downey catalogue is immediately followed by a seven-page passage that is (like the Karl Krauss passage in the first section of *In Memoriam*, the entirety of the “England is Our Enemy” section and a large proportion of “The Meeting of the East and the West” section) composed largely using material that is taken from a single source: *The Blot Upon the Brain: Studies in History and Psychology*, a collection of essays by the Edinburgh-born physician William Wotherspoon Ireland (1832-1909) that was first published in 1885. Thematically, this passage retains a focus on scientific and psychological aspects of language; however, the emphasis shifts to neurological and related disorders: the essays collected in *Blot Upon the Brain* are concerned with what Ireland terms “the diseased function of the brain” in various historical figures, including the hallucinations of Muhammad, Luther, Swedenborg, and Joan of Arc; instances of insanity in powerful political figures; and more abstract themes, such as “Left-Handedness and Right-Handedness” and “Mirror-Writing” (v). Two aspects of the *Blot Upon the Brain* passage reinforce the understanding of the voice deployed thus far in “The World of Words” as being playfully parodic. Firstly, around a third of the way through the passage the speaker redeploys the “of course we have read” formulation used throughout the Downey passage:

And of course we have read

Tamburini’s ‘Contribuzione all Fisiologia
e Patologia del Linguaggio,’ and

Wilks’ ‘Notes from the History of My Parrot.’ (813)

This provides a bridge between the two parts of the section: however, within the context of the catalogue of titles of scientific papers introduced thus far, “Notes from the History of My Parrot” is incongruous. With “My Parrot” acting as a surprising and confusing counterpoint to the academicised “Notes from the History of”, it is difficult to tell whether the article is either real or entirely serious. “Notes from the History of My Parrot, in Reference to the Nature of Language”, published in the *Journal of Mental Science* in 1879, is in fact both, relating as it does the British physician Samuel Wilks’ observations of his parrot’s imitation and use of language. The incongruity of this title in this context is amplified through the text pairing its almost entirely mono- and disyllabic formulation with the exotic multisyllabic flourish of “Tamburini’s ‘Contribuzione all Fisiologia / e Patologia del Linguaggio,’” (831). Indeed, these lines not only reinforce the sense that the catalogue technique is intended to be read as parodic and therefore as a commentary on the deluge of information generated by print culture and global English. They also invite the reader to engage with them as precisely the sort of parody that Morgan observes in *Finnegans Wake*, which he describes as having “taught us to laugh” at “all the Alexandrian pedantries and ramifications of modern specialized scholarship” through the inclusion of references to titles such as “*Some Forestallings of the Studium of Sexophonologicistic Schizophrenesis*” and “*Later Frustrations amongst the Neomugglian Teachings abaft the Semi-unconscience*”, but which he argues not to be present in the catalogues of *In Memoriam*. (“Jujitsu” 228).

Secondly, the *Blot Upon the Brain* complicates the way in which the catalogue technique intersects with print culture and academic discourse, by using the “of course we have read” phrasing in order to list a series of authors who have been quoted — with or without attribution — elsewhere in *In Memoriam*:

So we have read Bridgman, Lancelot Hogben, Thurman Arnold,
 Jerome Frank, Alfred Korzybski, Ogden and Richards,
 Taking from Korzybski at least a notion
 Of the utility of semantics as an instrument

For extirpating pernicious thinking and emotional reactions (814)

While this phrasing is used throughout *In Memoriam*, it almost always catalogues references that are themselves taken from other texts which have not been cited elsewhere in *In Memoriam*. Those references parody the information overload inherent in modernity, in part because the reader has not, in fact, read any of the cited texts — and it is doubtful whether the speaker has, either. However, that understanding can be applied equally to this passage. Whether the speaker has “read” “Bridgman, Lancelot Hogben” or not cannot be discerned from the text. However, the fact that the reader has encountered covert or overt references to these authors does not mean that they have “read” them in any meaningful sense. This catalogue is therefore not distinguished from the Downey catalogue in that way. Instead, it maintains *In Memoriam*’s practise of resisting the strict opposition of its own poetics to the phenomena it is critiquing: that is, the rise of modernity and the development of global English. In presenting a catalogue of its own sources, *In Memoriam* is characterising its own poetics as in part being a function of the developments to which it is responding.

The *Blot Upon the Brain* passage is also an extended example of the single most common citational technique used in *In Memoriam*, which I refer to as “second-order” citation. While its main source is a collection of essays which are all written by William Wotherspoon Ireland, Ireland himself makes extensive use of quotation: and it is these quotations that are themselves incorporated into *In Memoriam*, rather than Ireland’s commentary on them or points by Ireland that he is using the quotations to illustrate. For example, the fragment on pages 811-2, ““Such, in truth,” says Renan, ‘is the richness of the resource / ... / languages, but by entirely different means.’”, is taken from page 271 of *Blot Upon the Brain*. But there Ireland is himself quoting the passage from Renan’s *De l’Origin du Langage*, as he indicates in a footnote. The practise of second-order citation is extremely common in *In Memoriam*. As the Ireland/Renan citation demonstrates, second-order citation involves the text citing a source that is itself citing a further source, while flattening the process in order to

erase the intermediary text. It therefore includes not just citations of citations, but also, for example, the way in which the Downey catalogue is constructed through the listing of authors and titles that are themselves listed in the source text, while the source text itself is erased. On other occasions, *In Memoriam* explicitly cites a source when it appears to have drawn on an intermediary text. For example, a footnote included later in “The World of Words” refers the reader “See *Zen in the Art of Archery*, by Eugen Herrigel”, when the source was in fact *The Listener*’s 1954 review of that work: the line that appears in quotation marks, “‘So that fundamentally the marksman aims at himself / And may even succeed in hitting himself.’”, is taken from Herrigel’s work, but it appears in *In Memoriam* because it had appeared in the review in *The Listener* (828n1).⁸

In making such extensive use of second-order citation, *In Memoriam* connects the simultaneism of its own citational poetics — which are themselves a response to the print and academic cultures that exist symbiotically with global English — with the accidental simultaneism that can be perceived in the juxtapositions created in the materials generated by print culture. The single most commonly used source in *In Memoriam* is the *Times Literary Supplement*. Moreover, almost every usage the text makes of the *TLS* involves an example of second-order citation, with quotations from *TLS* reviews being precisely transplanted into *In Memoriam*. The prevalence of second-order citation in *In Memoriam* may have originated from the practical limitations within which the text was composed: limitations that were themselves connected with the *TLS*. As discussed in Chapter Two, the extended composition process that eventually led to the publication of *In Memoriam* began shortly after MacDiarmid’s

8. As is the case with many of *In Memoriam*’s footnotes, it is not entirely clear which part of the main text is being referred to by the footnote, which comes at the end of a verse paragraph that is almost three pages long. Thematically, the references to archery begin towards the foot of the previous page where the speaker refers to “the quality that Mencius calls Jen — / ‘The heart of a man,’ ‘being a man,’ which is ‘like archery / Because when we miss the mark we come back for self-examination.’” (827). It is followed by a series of references to archery, each with a slightly thematic variation: “It is the miracle of literature, of culture, of the Celt, / In that it is at once the bow and the mark”, “Here, indeed, is the bending of Ulysses’ bow”, “The arrow is called paitamaham astram in the Ramayana”, and the concluding, fourteen-line fragment that begins “So too archery in the traditional Japanese sense / Is not a sport, not even an art” (827-8). Indeed, each of these references is taken from a different source.

departure to Whalsay on 2 May 1933, with the majority of the work being completed by the time of MacDiarmid's return to the Scottish mainland in 1942. While his access to books was initially limited, MacDiarmid does seem to have had relatively reliable access to the *TLS*: the publication provides eleven known sources in 1935, twelve in 1936, and fifteen in 1937, and four each in 1934, 1938, and 1939. The *TLS* therefore provided MacDiarmid with a shortcut to multiple other sources. The way in which it is repeatedly mined in *In Memoriam* may therefore have developed out of necessity. However, the *TLS* continues to be a significant source for *In Memoriam* even after 1942, when MacDiarmid relocated to Glasgow, where he would have had significantly more straightforward access to books and periodicals: indeed, when composing the "Simultaneist poems, / Grab-bags and clichés, newspaper clippings" fragment in or shortly after 1953, MacDiarmid was able to access both the *TLS* of 23 October 1953, which was one source for the fragment, and *The Dada Painters and Poets*, which was reviewed in that issue of the *TLS* and which was the fragment's other source.

While *In Memoriam*'s use of second-order citation originates from MacDiarmid's lack of access to printed material, it later becomes a deliberate formal decision. While the material taken from *The Blot Upon the Brain* is an example of second-order citation, the implications of the technique can be better demonstrated through the consideration of the way in which "The Age of Baroque in France" — a review of Jean Rousset's *La Littérature de l'Âge Baroque en France* by Martin Turnell that was published in the *TLS* on 12 February 1954 — is incorporated into the *Blot Upon the Brain* passage. The textual flattening caused by this second-order citation speaks to *In Memoriam*'s simultaneity, since the text is not only bringing together the output of print culture and academia — "Grab-bags and clichés, newspaper clippings, / Popular songs, advertising copy" — but is specifically citing texts that themselves bring together multiple textual fragments. The publication date of "The Age of Baroque in France" indicates that it is one of the *TLS* articles that MacDiarmid made use of after his return to mainland Scotland (and to more readily available books and periodicals):

indeed, the article was published close enough to *In Memoriam*'s own publication to indicate that it contributed to the extra material that MacDiarmid added to the manuscript immediately before its publication by William MacLellan. It is the source for an eight line fragment included towards the end of the *Blot Upon the Brain* passage:

The world of Baroque in whose court ballets
Vast spectacles are constructed only
To disintegrate suddenly in flame and thunder,
Change, inconstancy, disguise, movement,
The vision of an impermanent world,
And the ebb and flow of the interior life
With Bernini's Circe and the Peacock
The symbol of it all. (816)

The extract from "The Age of Baroque in France" that was the source for much of this fragment is significantly longer (*italics added in order to indicate the lines selected for inclusion in In Memoriam*):

It is physical in the *court ballets where vast spectacles are constructed only to disintegrate suddenly in flame and thunder*. It is psychological in the use of "disguise" in tragic-comedy and in the theme of "inconstancy" in the dramatic pastoral. "From Montaigne to Pascal and Bernini," we are told, "man is defined in terms of *change, disguise, inconstancy and movement*." In the dramatic pastoral "there is a homogeneous system linking inconstancy in love with the *vision of an impermanent world and the ebb and flow of the interior life*." (97)

The reference to "Circe and the Peacock" is then taken from earlier in Turnell's article: "Professor Mario Praz ... chose *Bernini's* sculpture of St. Teresa, with its blend of religious and erotic feeling, as a *symbol of the whole period* ... M. Rousset recognizes the pre-eminence of Bernini — "Bernini is Baroque" — but he chooses a different symbol. It is the image of *Circe and the Peacock*" (97).⁹ This is a typical example of

9. MacDiarmid appears, incidentally, to be mistaken here. His reference to "Bernini's Circe and the Peacock" also appears in "'Jerqueing Every Idioticon': Some Notes on MacDiarmid's Joyce Poem", an article MacDiarmid published under the name Arthur Leslie and in which he describes how,

In Memoriam's use of second-order citation. For its first three lines it cites Turnell's review of Rousset's book. Then, for the next three lines, it cites Rousset — but it does so indirectly, in fact citing Turnell's citation of Rousset, and makes no distinction between the two texts. The final two lines are then taken from an earlier point in Turnell's review. And those lines have undergone a more substantial transformation than the previous lines, the transformation of which is more or less limited to the addition of line breaks.

Taken on its own, the textual flattening inherent in each individual instance of second-order citation speaks to *In Memoriam*'s self-proclaimed simultaneity and therefore reinforces the text's connection with print culture and academia, since its citational poetics are shown to mirror pre-existing citational practices elsewhere. With this connection established, the combination of multiple individual citations in *In Memoriam* provides a further, inverted connection with some of the genres of source material that the text incorporates. The bringing together of differing, sometimes disparate and juxtaposed source materials echoes the way in which different texts are published alongside each other in a print publication. In this sense, *In Memoriam*'s simultaneity highlights what might be thought of as the "found simultaneity" of the periodicals that were a distinctive element of the print culture that David Crystal argues to be a fundamental aspect of the changing status of English as a global language.

For example, MacDiarmid would have first encountered "The Age of Baroque in France" in the first three pages of the 12 February 1954 issue of the *TLS*. On the first page, the text of the article is framed on three sides by a range of material. The

in *In Memoriam*, reference is made to Bernini's "Circe and the Peacock", to Juno and the Peacock, and Joyce's death and translation into eternity is described as (though most people might characterise it as merely 'another queer bird gone') the flight not of the 'metaphysical buzzard' but of a peacock flying in through an open window with its eight-foot tail streaming out behind (23). However, Bernini never produced a work titled "Circe and the Peacock". MacDiarmid's "knowledge" of the sculpture appears to come from a misreading of Turnell's review, and (inadvertently) from a sub-editing decision made by the *TLS*. Referring to Turnell's reference to "the image of Circe and the Peacock", it is clear how the close pairing of this phrase with the reference slightly earlier to "Bernini's sculpture of St. Teresa" — i.e., the Ecstasy of Saint Teresa. However, it seems that Turnell's reference here is to the subtitle of the work under review, *Circé et le Paon*, the two main symbols through which Rousset engages with French Baroque literature. The subtitle was omitted from the *TLS*'s reference to the title of the work under review, which facilitated MacDiarmid's misunderstanding.

bottom left corner and the entire right-hand column are given over to advertising for, respectively,

CHARLES

MORGAN'S

new play

The

Burning Glass (97)

due to be published by Macmillan, and a series of novels and one autobiography published by Hutchinson. The top of the page is taken up with the *TLS* masthead, issue number, indication that this is the “53rd Year” of publication, publication date, “inland and abroad” postage cost, and price. Finally, the left hand column above the advert for *The Burning Glass* — approximately three quarters of the below-the-masthead page — is taken up with the contents list for the issue. In addition to the running head and page number at the top of the page, the second page of the three-page article is supplemented by three adverts. Two of these each take up half of the right hand column. The upper of these adverts is stylised to look and read something like regular copy, and publicises a collection of Jean Cocteau’s reflections on film and a collection of the humorist Robert Benchley’s newspaper columns, both published by Dobson. The lower advert promotes three novels, as well as a “history of woman from Victoria to Elizabeth II” and Frances Frost’s narrative adaptation of the opera *Amahl and the Night Visitors*. And the third advert on the second page of this issue of the *TLS*, publicising a novel by Vaughan Wilkins and a history of New Model Army generals by Maurice Ashley, makes up half of the two furthest left columns (in total, two-fifths of the page is made up of advertising copy). The final page of the Turnell article includes a column advertising publications by Hart-Davis, and another advertising publications by Cambridge University Press. Half of the space in the three remaining columns is taken up by another *TLS* review article. Across these three pages, then, Turnell’s article is located alongside other texts — including other reviews, and paratexts

such as advertising and the functional text of the masthead, contents, and running head — in much the same way as it is located alongside other transformed sources in *In Memoriam*. The “found simultaneity” of the *TLS* (and other print publications) is echoed by the way in which *In Memoriam* itself corrals and curates multiple texts, placing them alongside each other so that meaning is created by the individual fragments themselves but also by the multiple juxtapositions that come into existence between those fragments.

This feature of *In Memoriam* evokes parallels drawn by critics such as Robert Crawford between MacDiarmid’s career as a journalist and his earlier work in Scots: the sort of skills and techniques demanded by his work on the *Montrose Review* are also those applied with intuitive brilliance to the Scots poetry of the 1920s. At times it is as if MacDiarmid is ‘reporting’ the Scots dictionary, quoting not just words but lines and phrases, editing them into his own text so that the edited ‘submitted copy’ from the dictionary is rewritten by the editor for publication in the poem. (*Montrose* 54)

If there are parallels between MacDiarmid’s work writing for, editing, and laying out the *Montrose Review* and his composition of his Scots poetry, then the parallels with the composition of his later citational work are even clearer. This can be seen, for example, in the layout of the *TLS* and of other similar publications that provided source material for *In Memoriam*. While the minimum level of editing applied to almost all of the source material used in the composition of *In Memoriam* is the addition of line breaks, the presentation of copy within multiple columns in the *TLS* inadvertently adds similar line breaks that impose accidental emphasis upon certain parts of the text. Considered in the context of my reading here of *In Memoriam*, the copy provided by a contributor to the *TLS* would become a source text, with the transformation being the insertion of a line break after the line had reached a specific length; i.e., the width of a column.

The way in which *In Memoriam*’s use of citation resonates with and reflects

the structure of its sources is not limited to humanities-led publications like the *TLS*. It also echoes the organisation of the scientific and academic texts that are the main sources for the material considered so far in this chapter. *In Memoriam* interprets the professionalised scientific-academic discourse that Crystal identifies as informing the rise of global English in terms of a massive network of information, with the texts that make up that network each gaining their legitimacy from their connections to other legitimised texts in the network: that is, through their use of citation.

The way in which both *The Blot Upon the Brain* and *Creative Imagination* are deployed in *In Memoriam* emphasises the way in which those texts themselves make use of citation. The parts of *Blot Upon the Brain* that are included in *In Memoriam* are very often reference to or explicit citations from other texts, or references to other authors. For example, “Dr. Wigan”, who “tells of a case of the sudden excitation of speech”, “Adolf Kussmaul’s / ‘Die Störungen der Sprache; Versuch einer Pathologie der Sprache,’” and the extended prose quotation from Ernest Renan (812, 812, 811). The citations *In Memoriam* makes from *Creative Imagination* take the emphasis on the formal concept of citation even further, with almost all of the material that is taken from that text originating in its footnotes.

This also reflects MacDiarmid’s view regarding what he called “the present state of over-scientification”:

the technological age and that sort of thing. All that is having an impact on our sensibilities all the time, whether we simply receive these things and try to interpret them in terms of a philosophy or an idea of life and so on that was itself pre-scientific is another matter. I think that is what most of us *do* do. But then it is not consonant with the facts. There are other explanations possible and who is going to arbitrate between the different explanations? ... The poet—only. (Glen, *Conversation* 20-1)

Here, MacDiarmid suggests a fundamental link between modernity and an overwhelming flow of information that is being perpetually renewed and regenerated, demanding

and then superseding a series of new frameworks of interpretation. *In Memoriam*'s catalogues mimic this flow of information; and *In Memoriam*'s citational poetics are suggestive of the arbitration role MacDiarmid assigns exclusively to the poet.

“everything I write, of course / Is an extended metaphor for something I never mention”: In Memoriam’s extended metaphors

In the next passage of “The World of Words” *In Memoriam*'s use of catalogues gives way to the development of extended metaphors. The text's extended metaphors are a crystallisation of its catalogues. *In Memoriam*'s catalogues demonstrate the text's simultaneist generalism in order to suggest the expression of multiple concurrent viewpoints and also to invite the reader to create meaning by teasing out connections between its different source materials. In so doing, the catalogues crowd the reader with overwhelming sequences of names, titles, or languages that resist readerly efforts at self-orientation, in order to mimic the massive flows of information that are fundamentally connected to the rise of global English.

As with its catalogues, *In Memoriam*'s extended metaphors involve the delivery of a large amount of information. However, while the sense of information overload is carried over from the catalogue technique, that sense is significantly lessened. The playing out of multiple related ideas in the text's catalogues is replaced by the playing out of a single idea — examples include Arctic exploration, skiing, swordsmanship, archery, sheep, fishing, and different kinds of wood — from multiple positions. Therefore, while *In Memoriam*'s catalogues introduce generalist and simultaneist ideas, these ideas are most fully developed in the text's extended metaphors. This crystallisation or coalescence of the extended metaphors from the catalogues — and of the simultaneist generalist approach as a whole — is suggested in the mid-section of “The World of Words”, when the speaker makes another direct address to Joyce:

Collecting up all these essences,

These intimations coming willy-nilly from all quarters,

Into a complex conception of all things,
An intricately-cut gem-stone of a myriad facets
That is yet, miraculously, a whole;
Each of which facets serves its individual purpose
In directing the light collected from every side outwards
In a single creative ray (823)

The speaker is beginning to perform the role of arbitration MacDiarmid has assigned to the poet, and is undertaking the “plaiting” or “braid-blinding” that will be reflected on in the text’s final section. They describe a transition away from the multiple competing voices of the catalogue technique that frames and arbitrates those voices. This coalescence — the “intricately-cut gem-stone” — then itself becomes the means by which further coherence and arbitration can be achieved, with its “facets ... / ... directing the light collected from every side outwards / In a single creative ray” (823).

The speaker then immediately begins to develop an extended metaphor that takes the theme of Arctic exploration: “We travel five days / On tolerable ice in good weather / With few bergs to surmount”, etc (823). This extended metaphor goes on to develop an additional specific meaning that suggests further connections with the text’s citational poetics. The Arctic exploration passage runs for fifteen lines, with the speaker discovering that their “luck turns. / A wind of 120 miles an hour blows from the East, / And the plateau becomes a playground of gales” so that they are forced to “fumble along with partially bandaged eyes”; while Riach locates its source as the 1933 John Buchan novel *A Prince of Captivity*, the presence on the next page of material from Buchan’s 1932 novel *A Gap in the Curtain* suggests that this may be an instance of second-order citation, with MacDiarmid having taken his material from a review that has itself quoted Buchan’s work (823). And the speaker is clear about how they intend the passage to be interpreted:

That is what adventuring in dictionaries means,
All the abysses and altitudes of the mind of man,

Every test and trial of the spirit,
Among the débris of all past literature
And raw material of all the literature to be. (823)

The reference to “the débris of all past literature” evokes the reference in the opening passage of *In Memoriam*’s first section to the Celtic brotherhood/mind of Europe idea that underpins the initial development of the text’s citational poetics:

We who are concerned with ‘the living whole
Of all the poetry that has ever been written,’
And the *sodaliciis adstricti consortiis*
Of all the authors who have been, are, or will be, (738)

The Arctic exploration metaphor is therefore directly connected to *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics, and this connection in turn reinforces the sense that the “intricately-cut gem-stone” of the extended metaphor represents the maturation of those poetics.

In Chapter Four, I demonstrated how the first section of *In Memoriam* derives an internal coherence from its development of a thread of ideas relating to language: first written, then vocalised, then silenced, then moving through and beyond silence. While “The World of Words” does not focus on this thread in the same way, the closing passage of the section — “How shall I word what I needs must say / ... / In desirable sequences” — does revisit it while also prefiguring its continuation later in the text (831). The passage opens with a suggestion of the helplessness the speaker feels in the face of modern propaganda — “To carry conviction against the Niagara of official lies” — that both calls back to the Karl Kraus passage in the text’s first section and also foreshadows one of the dominant themes of the text’s last section, “Plaited Like the Generations of Men” (831). But the most significant instance of this textual continuity provides that continuity both between “The World of Words” and *In Memoriam*’s other sections, and within “The World of Words” itself, in a way that evokes Edwin Morgan’s suggestion that *In Memoriam* involves “a curious

anti-organized, ‘endless’ winding-out of themes as in jazz, or pibroch” (*Jujitsu* 225). It can be identified in the reference to “the scream of Juno’s peacock”, which revisits the peacock imagery that occurs earlier in the section with the (mistaken) reference to Bernini. W. N. Herbert has identified the last stanza of Yeats’s “All Souls’ Night” at the end of the verse paragraph that includes the reference to Juno’s peacock, and goes on to observe that the inclusion of this material “refers the agile reader back to the elegy for Yeats” in the first section of *In Memoriam*:

Other masters may conceivably write
Even yet in C major
But we — we take the perhaps “primrose path”
To the dodecaphonic bonfire. (*Circumjack* 1992 212-213, 758)

For Herbert, the key of C major achieves a “delayed ‘resolution’” earlier in “The World of Words” when the speaker observes that “Critics have thought it strange that Orpheus should / At this ineffable moment sing an aria at all, / And that this aria should be in C major” (*Circumjack* 1992 213). But more generally this passage also revisits the language thread from the text’s first section — specifically, its development to include vocalised language and song — as well as introductory paratextual elements, such as the “Sequence of Contents” and J. D. Fergusson’s illustrations, which borrow from the presentation of music and musical performances. Moreover, it prefigures the important “realm of music” passage which opens “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”.

In this chapter I have examined the ways in which *In Memoriam* makes use of three of its most common citational techniques: the catalogue technique, where a series of thematically connected ideas are listed in quick succession; second-order citation, where a source is cited that itself cites a further source, so that the intermediate source is erased; and the extended metaphor, where the text develops a single metaphoric theme from multiple viewpoints. I have shown how these techniques involve an often playful recontextualisation and shifting of registers, and how each are

instances of *In Memoriam*'s self-styled simultaneist generalism, which reflects the text's development of its new "world literature". Moreover, I have demonstrated how each technique presents a different response to the development of the print and academic cultures that was concomitant with the rise of global English in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition to reflecting the new forms and amounts of information that were generated, "The World of Words" also suggests how the way in which *In Memoriam*'s juxtaposition of source materials mimics the layout of print periodicals, including paratextual material such as advertising.

Chapter Six

In Chapter Four of this thesis I argued that the first section of *In Memoriam James Joyce* foregrounds the text's use of citation and connects it, in part via a thread of ideas related to written, spoken, and broadcast language, to ideas that are related to the development of English as a global language. In Chapter Five, I focused on the way in which *In Memoriam*'s second section, "The World of Words", makes use of some of *In Memoriam*'s most common forms of citation in order to develop a generalist, simultaneist approach that maintains this connection between citation and global English, and also focuses on the symbiotic development of global English alongside the development of print culture. In this chapter, I argue that the final four sections of *In Memoriam* — "The Snares of Varuna", "The Meeting of the East and the West", "England is Our Enemy", and "Plaited Like the Generations of Men" — maintain this connection between global English and the text's citational poetics in order to explore the implications of the assertion made by the speaker in the first section of the text that "linguistic imperialism ... sums up all the rest" (790).

In these sections, *In Memoriam* can be seen to articulate the conflicts that have inevitably arisen between global English and other languages and cultures. As David Crystal has argued, despite the value English has acquired across the world in the twentieth century as an unrivalled medium of international communication, the position of language as "the most immediate and universal symbol of ... identity" means that in an era when former colonies have gained independence from the British Empire "English has an unhappy colonial resonance ... and a history where local languages could easily be treated with contempt" (125). In "Snares", the text's

speaker connects colonialism with technological modernity. In so doing, *In Memoriam* aligns the citational poetics it has used to develop its “vision of world language” with political decolonisation movements. In “Meeting” the speaker alludes to ideas related to Proto-Indo-European in order to extend the “Gaelic Idea” (as developed by MacDiarmid through the 1920s and into the early 1930s) from a form of resistance to what MacDiarmid termed the “English Ascendancy” within Britain and Ireland to a strategy for challenging the hegemony of global English. Then, in “England”, *In Memoriam* uses an extended citation from Ford Madox Ford to foreground the idea of tradition that was introduced in *In Memoriam*’s opening passage and which had resurfaced in a different form in “Snares” and “Meeting”. Lastly, I argue that “Plaited” extends *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics to include instances of self citation, whereby MacDiarmid incorporates material from his own work. This technique is signalled through more allusive intertexts and intratexts that also serve to establish thematic connections between “Plaited” and the other sections of the text that are considered in this chapter. These connections prefigure the speaker’s identification, via a citation from *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, of *In Memoriam*’s “vision of world language” — as realised through its citational poetics — with literatures of decolonisation. Finally, the speaker of *In Memoriam* navigates a crisis of faith, concluding the text with a passage that begins to explore the way a language that has become internationalised through colonialism can fragment into what Crystal terms “multidialectism” (177).

“The Snares of Varuna” and “The Meeting of the East and the West”: modernity, colonialism, and the Gaelic Idea

In the first section of *In Memoriam* James Joyce the speaker highlights a way in which their project differs from the work of James Joyce, who otherwise provides the speaker with a significant model:

(For unlike you, Joyce, I am more concerned
With the East than the West and the poetry I seek

Must be the work of one who has always known
That the Tarim valley is of more importance
Than the Jordan or the Rhine in world history). (801)

While these lines do follow a page-long discussion of various non-European languages and cultures, their sentiment can seem largely unfulfilled by the way in which much of the rest of the first two sections of the text demonstrate a relatively clear Eurocentricity. When these parts of *In Memoriam* do engage to some extent with “the East”, that engagement can seem superficial, and something of an afterthought. And *In Memoriam*’s initial failure to fulfil its stated mission to move beyond the cultures of Europe presents an even larger problem for the text when considered in the context of its “Author’s Note”, which itself quotes the “I am more concerned / With the East than the West” passage and refers to those lines when it states that “so much of [*In Memoriam*] is concerned with Oriental literatures and languages” (15). Meanwhile, in a passage that occurs a few pages before the speaker’s comment to Joyce about the importance of the Tarim valley, the speaker states directly that “the adoption of English as the supra-national language / Would imply the acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon supremacy”. This argument underpins the speaker’s case for *In Memoriam*’s own “vision of world language”, which I have argued to be specifically connected to the text’s citational poetics, and can easily be extended to the idea of a Eurocentric supremacy.

The way in which the first two sections of *In Memoriam* do not seem to fulfil the text’s claim to be preoccupied “with Oriental literatures and languages” therefore problematises the text’s implied claim to offer an alternative to global English. *In Memoriam*’s short third and fourth sections, “The Snares of Varuna” and “The Meeting of the East and the West”, work to resolve this issue. So far in this thesis I have argued that *In Memoriam* is preoccupied with the social and cultural effects of various aspects of what Thomas J. Misa et al. have termed “technological modernity”, which together form a nexus of ideas that is interconnected with the changing status of English as

a global language. In “Snares”, the text’s speaker aligns this preoccupation with the effects of imperialism. In so doing, the speaker comes to present the end of Empire as a possible counterpoint and response to the pitfalls of technological modernity seen previously in, for example, the “radio variety programmes” passage in the first section, or the reference in “The World of Words” to the “ready-made, mechanical, conventional conceptions / Of the conglomerate experience of life, accepted gratefully by laziness and fear” (753, 824). Decolonisation therefore begins to overlap with the citational poetics of *In Memoriam*’s own “vision of world language”, which the text has already established as providing a similar response. “Snares” therefore prefigures a further development of idea in the last section of the text “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”.

The title “The Snares of Varuna” suggests that this section of the text will foreground ideas related to Indian literatures and cultures. Varuna is the Hindu god who is associated in the Vedas first with justice, morality, and truth and also with the sky and with water and the oceans; Varuna’s “snare” is a lasso-type weapon, usually now referred to as a pasha (transliterated from Hindi as pāśa; *In Memoriam* refers to “Pasaih”) (840). However, at the level of its source materials “Snares” is tightly connected to much of the rest of the text. The first paragraph of the section is taken from Monier Monier-Williams’ 1876 book *Indian Wisdom*, which also provides material for the first, second, and final sections of *In Memoriam*. And this connection soon appears in the thematic surface text, as “Snares” quickly transforms the way in which “The world is fast bound in the snares of Varuna” into a metaphor for what the speaker perceives to be the shortcomings and challenges of modernity. This transformation is achieved through the splicing of the Monier-Williams material with material taken from Gaetano Salvemini’s 1937 biography of the Italian anti-fascists Carlo and Nello Rosselli. This is illustrated in the following quotation: the slashes indicate the different source materials: the first two and half lines of the quotation are from Monier-Williams; no source is known for the next two half-lines; and the

final line and a half is taken from Salvemini. Referring to Varuna, the speaker describes how

The winkings of men's eyes
Are all numbered by him; he wields the universe
As gamesters handle dice. [/] These are the unexampled days
Of false witness — [/] a barbarous regime which gives power over life and
death
To an oligarchy of brigands and adventurers, (840)

The “barbarous regime” here is the fascism — specifically, in this case, Italian fascism — that had been a focus of the Karl Krauss passage in the first section of the text, which considered the way in which language could be pushed to its limits by the politics of modernity. This transition introduces a series of metaphors that deploy mechanical metaphors: “The speed-up, the ‘church work,’ the lead poisoning, / The strain that drives men nuts” (841). But this soon develops into references to the metaphorical machine of the state:

— Those (as Leonard Woolf has said)
Who question the authority of the machine,
Who claim the right to do what they want
And to be governed by themselves,
Condemned as rebels and extremists
Against those claims to freedom of soul
It is the primary duty of all loyal citizens
To vindicate the machinery of law and order
— Against the claims of
Aminu Kano in Nigeria,
Cheddi Jagan in ‘British’ Guiana,
Liam Kelly and the Fianna Uladh in Northern Ireland. (841)

The way in which *In Memoriam* reconfigures the material from Woolf establishes

parallels between the “Mechanical authoritarianism” of the state that “Runs like a machine” and the mechanisation of technological modernity that “drives men nuts” (840).

The decolonisation work represented by references to Kano, Jagan, and Kelly is therefore recast as a way in which the implications of technological modernity might themselves be resisted. As I have argued earlier in this thesis, the first two sections of *In Memoriam* repeatedly present the text’s use of citation as a strategy that might be used to resist aspects of technological modernity as they relate to global English. In this way, then, *In Memoriam* aligns its own project with the idea of decolonisation. The potential for this alignment was present at least since the “Basic English” passage in the first section of *In Memoriam*, where the speaker self-referentially hints at a plan for a decolonising poetics:

All dreams of ‘imperialism’ must be exorcised,
Including linguistic imperialism, which sums up all the rest.
The best policy would be to apply
The method of Basic, not to English,
But to the vast international vocabulary which already exists. (790)

Indeed, shortly after this statement the speaker refers to “Amos Tutuola, the Yoruba writer, / Who has begun the structure of new African literature” (793).

In Memoriam continues to develop this alignment through much of its remaining sections. Once the alignment has been established in “Snares”, the text reinforces it by introducing the theme of the origin of European languages and cultures that it advances most fully in its next section, “The Meeting of the East and the West”. In so doing, “Snares” reiterates the ideas regarding the way in which the approach developed in *In Memoriam* might orientate a reader within the informational deluge of modernity and global English, which were the focus of much of “The World of Words”.

In “Snares”, the speaker begins a two-page parenthetical fragment with the

lines “(And in a poem like this, of course / Dealing with Plato and the East, / One must range the library”, going on to clarify that their focus here is on “the influence of the East” on Plato (845). The speaker describes how, “Plato imitated the dialogues / Of the Buddha with his disciples / In Indian literature” and “constantly perfected his manner / Without leaving out / The hypothesis of such a borrowing” (846, 847). The text seems to contradict itself regarding the “library” that “one must range”, possibly as a result of two separate sources being brought together: the library is specified in the main text as that “Of an Epicurean contemporary of Cicero, Philodemos”: that is, the library at the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum that was buried following the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. However, a footnote directs the reader to “*The Alexandrian Library* by Edward Alexander Parsons” (845):¹

See *The Alexandrian Library* by Edward Alexander Parsons (London, 1952), especially with regard to the loss of the invaluable ‘Pinakes’ of Callimachus, a *catalogue raisonné* in one hundred and twenty volumes, of the contents of the library and therefore of all ancient literature; and also the references to the five great librarians, who were also chancellors of the University, dynamic figures who catalogued the enormous collection, translated it, assessed it, annotated, purified, and amended the classics — laying the foundation of that exact science whose accents and punctuation we employ today. (845-6n1)

The way in which both libraries have been “lost” speaks to a sense of broken — and, in the case of the eventual excavation of parts of the Library of Philodemos, rediscovered — continuities underpinning the origins of European languages and cultures.

This theme is developed at length in “Meeting”, where it is leveraged — in the context of Proto-Indo-European — in order to challenge the idea of the hegemony of global English. This is mirrored, moreover, by the way in which the introduction of

1. While the subsequent passage on Plato is taken from G. O. Wood’s 10 September 1938 *TLS* review article “The Problem of Logic”, no source has been found for the references to either library. David Diringer reviewed E. A. Parson’s *The Alexandrian Library* for the *TLS* on 25 April 1952, but his review does not provide the source material for the footnote. The footnote does read as if it is perhaps taken from advertising or promotional copy; however, while the *TLS* carried a number of adverts for the book, none of these are the source in question.

ideas related to Proto-Indo-European in fact represent a development of MacDiarmid's "Gaelic Idea". When MacDiarmid gave the Gaelic Idea its fullest exposition, in the 1931-2 essay "The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea", he connected it to his perception of the literary and political domination by England of the entirety of Britain and Ireland:

Just as in British arts and letters we have lost incalculable strength and variety by putting all our eggs in the basket of the main English tradition ... so in politics the position in which England finds itself today, and must increasingly find itself, is just retribution for the selfish Imperialism which in these islands particularly and in the organization and policy of the Empire generally has insisted by the most unscrupulous means on English ascendancy rather than on that synthesis of the potential contributions of the various elements, the fostering of which would have added so enormously to the vitality, variety, and breadth of a truly British tradition. (62)

Yet there are suggestions in that passage that MacDiarmid was already drawing parallels between the English domination of Britain and Ireland — the "English ascendancy" that he had described more fully in the 1931 essay "English Ascendancy in British Literature" — and the international domination being undertaken by the British Empire. Moreover, during the period in which MacDiarmid was composing *In Memoriam*, the Gaelic Idea developed to take on a global significance in MacDiarmid's thought. And this evolved form of the Gaelic Idea finds expression in "Meeting" — via that section's preoccupation with ideas relating to Proto-Indo-European — as a means by which the position of global English might be undermined, just as the Gaelic Idea of the early 1930s had been presented in part as a strategy of resistance against the English ascendancy.

Before analysing the connection between the Gaelic Idea and Proto-Indo-European it is first necessary briefly to summarise the development of the Gaelic Idea within MacDiarmid's thought. It originates in MacDiarmid's belief that the Russian

Revolution had caused “[t]he old balance of Europe — between North and South” to be “disrupted” (“Caledonian” 67). The Gaelic Idea would address this imbalance by rebalancing Europe east to west and establishing a “quadrilateral of forces”, with “Gaeldom” providing “the necessary counter-idea to the Russian idea”:

Soviet economics are confronted with the Gaelic system with its repudiation of usury which finds its modern expression in Douglas economics. The dictatorship of the proletariat is confronted by the Gaelic commonwealth with its aristocratic culture — the high place it gave to its poets and scholars. And so on. (“Caledonian” 67)

But the Gaelic Idea can be traced at least as far back as MacDiarmid’s 1926 article for the *Scottish Educational Journal* on Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr, collected later that year in *Contemporary Scottish Studies*. In that article, MacDiarmid describes Erskine as having “maintained intact in himself, if nowhere else, the indefeasible unity of Scotland, its sovereign independence, and a centre in which the ‘Anima Celtica’ has lain in no spell-bound trance, but continued to function, if not freely, faithfully”, and as being “the very core and crux of the *Gaeltacht*” (*Contemporary* 284-5). The first explicit reference to what would become the Gaelic Idea is included in *Albyn* in 1927, where MacDiarmid describes a “Scottish Idea” that is “complementary to Dostoevsky’s ‘Russian Idea’” (*Selected* 22, 18). It is then developed further in essays such as “Scottish Gaelic Policy” (1927), “Gaelic Poetry” (1928), and “Towards a Scottish Renaissance: desirable lines of advance” (1929), before appearing in its fullest form in 1931-2 in “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” and, to a lesser extent, “English Ascendancy in British Literature”.

However, MacDiarmid continues to develop the Gaelic Idea throughout the 1930s and 1940s, increasingly identifying the idea with India. In a 1939 letter to Helen Cruikshank regarding *To Circumjack Cencrastus* MacDiarmid remarks that “Cencrastus, the Curly Snake, is a Gaelic (or Scottish) version of the idea common to Indian and other mythologies that underlying Creation there is a great snake — and that its

movements form the pattern of history” (*Letters* 128). Here, then, MacDiarmid’s syncretism facilitates his fusion of the ancient mythological symbol of the *ouroboros* — a snake devouring its own tail — with the snake symbol that recurs throughout Celtic art and mythology. A similar approach emerges in *Lucky Poet* in 1943 and then again (with reference to *Lucky Poet*) in the “Preface” to *Poems of the East-West Synthesis*, a collection of three poems published in 1946.

Synthesis connects the Gaelic Idea to *In Memoriam*. There are, firstly, multiple connections between *Synthesis* and *In Memoriam*. *Synthesis* seems to be a product of the *Cornish Heroic Song/Mature Art* urtext that also produced *In Memoriam*: the first two lines of “The Fingers of Baal Contract in the Communist Salute” refer to the way in which “even as I write our hearts are thrilled / By the appalling events in Spain”, therefore suggesting that the text emerged from the same composition period. Also, while “Baal” deploys a relatively even metre of four-line stanzas, “Ceol Mor” and “Tristan and Iseult” make use of the same verse paragraph style as *In Memoriam*. All three poems share *In Memoriam*’s preoccupation with languages and also make repeated references to Cornwall, and its title clearly evokes that of “The Meeting of the East and the West”.

While *Synthesis* is connected on one side to *In Memoriam*, it is connected on the other to the Gaelic Idea. In its Preface, the text describes how *Lucky Poet* claims that “the Gaelic civilisation is the bridge between the West and the East” (iv). Just as the Gaelic Idea involved a “Gaelic commonwealth” in the Celtic Fringe to the west of Europe balancing the influence of post-revolutionary Russia to the east, the Preface cites MacDiarmid’s observation in *Lucky Poet* that “‘Lenin, like myself — the Slav and the Celt — lies outside Europe’” (iv). The Preface continues to quote from *Lucky Poet*; specifically, a passage that itself borrows heavily from “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea”. For example, the Preface’s quotation of *Lucky Poet* emphasises

the necessity of ‘getting back behind the Renaissance’ — behind that Greek national whitewashing of all other European countries, which has prevented

them getting down to their own ur-motives and realizing themselves in turn as Greece has done (iv)

Whereas “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” describes

Daniel Corkery’s perception that the national art of Greece had, via the Renaissance, whitened the cultures of all other European countries and prevented them doing in turn what Greece did, or, in other words, that we must ‘get back behind the Renaissance’ and realize that classicism is concerned with Ur-motives and is precisely the opposite of neo-classical formulations. (74)

But the Preface’s quotation of *Lucky Poet* then pivots to state that “the oriental element in Celticism emerges into higher significance” and that this is “one of the chief themes in my huge unpublished poem”: i.e., *In Memoriam*, or (part of) the urtext from which *In Memoriam* emerged (iv). Therefore, “[t]he ideas of the East-West synthesis and the Caledonian antisyzygy merge into one” (iv).

It is, therefore, the Gaelic Idea that is emerging in “Meeting”, and in “Snares” before it. While the Gaelic Idea was first developed in part as a means by which the English ascendancy might be resisted, in its evolved form as the “East-West Synthesis” the target of this resistance has also evolved in a way that shifts the emphasis of the statement in “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” regarding the English ascendancy from England’s “selfish Imperialism ... in these islands” — i.e., Britain and Ireland — to “the organization and policy of the Empire in general”. The “East-West synthesis” emerges from the Gaelic Idea as did the Celtic Brotherhood idea that I have argued underpins the development of the text’s citational poetics and the way in which those poetics respond to the changing status of English as a global language. And that iteration of the Gaelic Idea suggests another aspect of that response.

The “Meeting of the East and West” is enacted in the reconstruction by European scholars of Proto-Indo-European: that is, the proposed common ancestor of almost all European languages, which is itself thought to have originated on the boundaries of present day Europe and Asia around 4000 BC. That is, a symbolic

meeting of “East” and “West”. Much of the section’s material is taken from Helmut von Glasenapp’s 1928 essay “The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature”. The section introduces these ideas through references to translation that recall similar references in the opening passages of the first section of the text and which eventually transition into a reference to forgery:

Remembering how Anton von Pforr translated the Panchatantra
Into German, not from the original Sanskrit, but from a Latin version
Itself derived from Hebrew, Arabian, and Pahlavi renderings;
How the Dutchman Roger’s ‘Open Door to the Hidden Paganism,’
With its prose translation of 200 maxims
Of the Sanskrit poet Bhartrihari, was long the chief source
From which the West drew its knowledge of the religion and literature of the
Hindus
Influencing even Goethe and Herder. One of the chief sources
On which the 18th century relied was a translation of the ‘Ezour Veda,’
Supposed to be a commentary to the Vedas,
In which Christian occidental monotheism was taught,
But in fact a forgery used by missionaries for the purpose of conversion. (852)

As is the case in the first section of *In Memoriam*, the references here to translation can be read as suggesting Marilyn Randall’s comments regarding the way in which translation has historically been seen as a legitimate form of appropriation. But in “Meeting” this is only a preamble to the extended description of the “Actual investigation of Indian literature”, which the speaker locates in the work of scholars such as William Jones, which formed the basis of Proto-Indo-European (852).

The critique of the suitability of English as a potential universal language offered in the first section of *In Memoriam* relies in large part on ridiculing or challenging the assumptions and arguments that are held and made in order to present English’s universal role as somehow “natural” or “neutral”, as opposed to

being a function of imperial power. For example, “English is destined to become the Universal Language! / The vibratory effect of English correctly spoken / ... / On the Pineal Gland is unique”, or the way in which the speaker points out that in Basic, I. A. Richards “proceeds to propose exactly / What he himself so definitely condemned” when claiming that “It (a common language) / ... / must carry no implications / Of intellectual, technological, or other domination” (738, 789). In “Meeting”, the speaker reinforces this critique by using the idea of Proto-Indo-European to challenge the idea of English as inherently superior in these ways. If Proto-Indo-European is a point of origin for English, along with almost all other European languages, then the status of English is diminished.

England is Our Enemy

In Memoriam’s penultimate section, “England is Our Enemy”, is its most polemical. In “England”, the speaker attacks England’s reception and criticism of its own literature, describing first how “Anglo-Saxondom / Does not know that it has any arts” so that “the best writers of to-day / Can find only a handful of readers”, before moving on to argue that “English official criticism has erected / A stone-heap, a dead load of moral qualities” (861, 862). In order to make its argument, “England” takes almost all of its material from a single source: Ford Madox Ford’s essay “Stocktaking: Towards a Re-Valuation of English Literature”. In the way that it makes this citation, “Meeting” revisits the idea of tradition that was alluded to in the opening passage of *In Memoriam*, when it was spliced with the Celtic brotherhood idea in order to underpin the development of the text’s citational poetics. “England” therefore focuses attention on those elements of “Snares” and “Meeting” that have themselves focused on the lost and forgotten traditions that the speaker examines in conflict with ideas relating to global English.

Ford published “Stocktaking” in 1924 under the name Daniel Chaucer in ten parts across the first eleven of the twelve published issues of *transatlantic review*.

“England” extracts nine passages from the second part of “Stocktaking”; that part of Ford’s essay was itself published across two consecutive issues of *transatlantic review*, so MacDiarmid ends up taking five sources from volume 1, issue 2 (February 1924) and four sources from the volume 1, issue 3 (March 1924), and presents them in the same order in which they had originally appeared in *transatlantic review*; in total, around two thirds of “England” is taken from the second issue of *transatlantic review*, with the remaining third largely being taken from the third issue. 1924 is a much earlier date than the vast majority of MacDiarmid’s other sources, so MacDiarmid may have taken this material from a reprinting of Ford’s essay. While MacDiarmid’s exact source is not known, the relevance of “Stocktaking” to MacDiarmid is also suggested by the way in which the fourth part of the essay to appear in “England” (“It means that the best writers of today / ... / Five are reasonably civilised”) is quoted directly, with attribution, on p. 103 of *Lucky Poet* (862).

The way in which “England” makes use of its source material is notable, since while MacDiarmid made use of extended citations at other points in *In Memoriam* — for example, the Karl Krauss passage in the text’s first section, and the way Helmut von Glasenapp’s essay “The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy” provides most of the material for “The Meeting of the East and the West” — the use at such length of a relatively well known source makes its identification by a reader more likely. Earlier in this thesis I have argued that *In Memoriam* works to foreground its citational poetics, so that a reader’s approach to the text can helpfully be thought of as incorporating this aspect of the text. My argument here is more specific. In “England”, the speaker not only foregrounds its citational poetics as a whole, but also makes it possible for a reader to identify the source that has been used far more easily than many of the text’s more obscure sources. The position of that source and the way in which it is decontextualised in *In Memoriam* is therefore of especial interest.

Because the origin of the source for “Meeting” is so readily identifiable, its

incorporation within *In Memoriam* brings with it resonances that are not present for most of the text's other citations. These resonances relate to the identification of not only the source itself, but also of Ford as its author and of the location of the source within Ford's wider thought. While the length of the citation perhaps contributes to the relative ease with which it could be identified — and while longer citations may be more easily identified in general — the length of the citation is not the most important factor in the way in which it is identified, and nor is it the most important factor in the way that that identification creates its specific effect. Similarly long citations, such as the one used to compose the Karl Krauss passage, or the von Glasenapp passage in "Meeting", do not create this effect, as the identification of those sources does not locate them within a broader context in the same way: indeed, as a *TLS* review the source for the Karl Krauss passage would have been published anonymously, and would therefore have been specifically resistant to contextualisation in this way.

A similar effect is in fact achieved in one of *In Memoriam*'s shortest citations, the overt inclusion in the text's opening passage of Eliot's line from "Tradition and the Individual Talent": "We who are concerned with 'the living whole / Of all the poetry that has ever been written,'" (738). As I argued in Chapter One, the familiarity of this line — emphasised by the use of quotation marks to demarcate it from the text that surrounds it — creates an intertext with "Tradition and the Individual Talent" that encourages the reading of *In Memoriam* within the context of the ideas Eliot develops in that text. Likewise, the extensive citation in "England" of a well known source like "Stocktaking" introduces Ford's ideas — and the idea of Ford — into the text.

On one level, this can be read as a joke that MacDiarmid is sharing with those parts of his readership that are able to identify the source of his citation. The sentiment behind the titular statement "England is Our Enemy" seems sincere, especially in the context of wider allusions in this part of the text to the "English ascendancy" that MacDiarmid perceived in the literatures of Britain and Ireland and

which I have argued to be underpinning his interpretation of the rise of global English. However, the speaker expresses the argument in favour of their antipathy towards England by covertly citing an attack by an English critic, Ford, on English criticism. This citation brings with it the context of the “Stocktaking” essays, within which, as Andrzej Gasiorek has described, Ford “was concerned to defend culture from English philistinism” (209). Gasiorek recounts how the essays “dismissed academic professionalism”, “mocked Anglo-Saxon philistinism”, “insisted that literary technique was more important than subject matter and that good writing was neither moralistic nor didactic” and “maintained that imaginative literature had the capacity to civilize human beings by helping them to understand other people” (209-10). So, when the speaker asks

Who among English writers is thus axiomatic?

Accepted thus by either the Anglo-Saxon

Or the foreigner of some culture?

You will say in your haste :

‘But there are *hundreds* !’

After cursory reflection you will say :

‘But ... there are none.’ (860)

Or when they state that

To distinctly English writers in England

Authenticity is never allowed;

The quality is perhaps

Not even known to exist” (863)

A reader who is aware of the origins of this argument can identify the way in which this distinguishes it from what may otherwise appear to be an attack from the positions relating to colonisation that have been outlined in the previous two sections of the text.

However, the connection between the citation from Ford and the citation

from “Tradition and the Individual Talent” extends beyond the ways in which those citations create substantial intertexts. In citing material from “Stocktaking” in such an identifiable way, the speaker is emphasising the way in which Ford sought, as Gasiorek writes, “to renovate post-war society by establishing continuities with the past”, an approach that “entailed a personal critical engagement with tradition, in all its multiple aspects”, an idea that can be seen in the way the speaker lists “writers from Mallarmé back to Ronsard” and then back further still to “Catullus, Petronius Arbiter, Apuleius and many more” (210, 859). The most important role that the introduction of Ford’s work plays at this point of the text is therefore the way in which it facilitates the revisitation of the idea of tradition that was introduced with the citation from “Tradition and the Individual Talent” in the opening passage of *In Memoriam*, and which has resurfaced in “Snares” and “Meeting” in the context of the emergence, discovery, and rediscovery of traditions that might challenge the hegemonic status of global English.

“Plaited Like the Generations of Men”: *In Memoriam* as *aisling*

So far in this chapter I have argued that in “The Snares of Varuna”, “The Meeting of the East and the West”, and “England is Our Enemy” *In Memoriam* continues to develop the connections between citation and the changing status of English as a global language, while often emphasising the ways in which a hegemonic English might be resisted. In the last section of the text, “Plaited Like the Generations of Men”, *In Memoriam* develops a series of metaphors for integration — such as plaiting, binding, and weaving — that foreground the text’s citational poetics in a similar way to the text’s first section. However, the foregrounding of these techniques in “Plaited” is more explicit, and also broader. Moreover, this thematic self-referentiality is mirrored by the way in which the intertexts, intratexts, and citations that can be detected in “Plaited” themselves become more self-referential. In addition to the forms of citation deployed in earlier sections of the text, “Plaited” includes various intertexts with MacDiarmid’s other work — including “On a Raised Beach” and “The Seamless

Garment” — as well as intratexts with other sections of *In Memoriam*. A specific intertext with *To Circumjack Cencrastus* is also an instance of MacDiarmid’s practise of self-citation: that is, when he includes his own earlier work in a text through the usual processes of selection, transformation, and combination. Moreover, the text’s source in *Cencrastus* includes an intertext with *Gile Na Gile* that suggests that *In Memoriam*’s “vision of world language” — as actualised through its citational poetics — should be read in the context of MacDiarmid’s understanding of literatures of decolonisation.

Critics have identified a number of intertexts and intratexts in “Plaited” that refer to other work composed by MacDiarmid. For example, Alan Riach has argued that “[t]here is a sense in which ‘Plaited Like the Generations of Men’ is a ‘translation’ of ‘On A Raised Beach’” (*Epic* 131). Considering “Raised Beach” in the context of three other poems that were also published in the 1934 collection *Stony Limits and Other Poems*, Riach argues that through the intertextual relationship established in the opening part of “Plaited”, MacDiarmid “is making a distinction between two locations from which poetry is written”: the “realm of music” and “the raised beach”, representing, respectively, a “stark, terrestrial reality” and a location where this “oppressiveness of reality has been greatly alleviated” and replaced with “a freedom from the fetters of logocentrism and anthropocentrism” (*Epic* 133, 130, 135). W. N. Herbert has observed how the Guadapada bed passage that appears towards the end of “Plaited” (“Yet, as Gaudapada says, even as a bed, ... Is for another’s use”) reappears in “Diamond Body”, a poem that was first collected in *A Lap of Honour* in 1967 (887, *Circumjack* 217-8). And a further intertext, which could also be classified as a self-citation, occurs later in “Diamond Body”, where an eight line fragment appears which MacDiarmid had previously used in “Plaited” (“Today we are breaking up the chaste / ... / At most tolerates, but does not recognise” (1087, 882)).

Margery McCulloch has identified an intratext that connects “Plaited” to the thematic preoccupations that are expressed more explicitly earlier in *In Memoriam*. McCulloch identifies the intratext in the three-page “realm of music” passage that

opens the section: “Come, follow me into the realm of music. Here is the gate / ... / Svaham aham samharami” (871). As is the case with “England is Our Enemy”, this extended passage is largely based on a single source; and, as is also the case with “England”, that source is used in a deceptively complex way. A footnote gives “acknowledgements to Ferruccio Busoni”; yet, while Busoni’s letters are the original source of this material, a nuance in the translation reveals that this is in fact a second-order citation, as the material has been most directly taken from the 16 December 1937 issue of *The New English Weekly*.²

The way in which this opening passage of “Plaited” takes the reader through “the gate / Which separates the earthly from the eternal” to a place where “Our wonderment will have no end” could be seen to position “Plaited” as being in some sense outwith the rest of *In Memoriam*. By this reading, “Plaited” would become a kind of postscript to the rest of the text, one that provides a commentary on the material that precedes it but not necessarily engaging directly with the thematic and formal preoccupations developed in that material. However, the intratext identified by McCulloch repositions the “realm of music” passage from describing a self-contained space isolated from the rest of the text to being something that has grown out of the text’s already established thematic concerns.

McCulloch notes the similarities that exist between the “realm of music” passage and the harebell passage in “The Snares of Varuna” (Riach, *Epic* 130). The first passage opens as follows:

Come, follow me into the realm of music. Here is the gate

Which separates the earthly from the eternal.

It is not like stepping into a strange country

As we once did. (871)

2. Following an observation by the composer Ronald Stevenson, Alan Riach identifies MacDiarmid’s source as a letter from the composer Ferruccio Busoni to his wife: specifically, Rosamond Ley’s translation of the letter (*Epic* 133, 155). However, *The New English Weekly* published the same extract that MacDiarmid uses in “Plaited”, including the reference to “the gate which separates the earthly from the eternal”; this becomes “the iron fence which separates the earthly from the eternal” in the version of Ley’s translation that is published in 1938 (the original German has “das Gitter, das Irdisches vom Ewigen trennt”).

These lines echo the opening of the harebell passage:

We must look at the harebell as if

We had never seen it before.

...

(Come. Climb with me. Even the sheep are different

And of new importance. (844)

They also echo a later part of the same passage:

Everything is different, everything changes,

...

The parsley fern — a lovelier plant

Than even the proud *Osmunda Regalis* —

Flourishes in abundance

Showing off oddly contrasted fronds

From the cracks of the lichen stones.

It is pleasant to find the books

Describing it as ‘very local.’

Here is a change indeed !

The universal *is* the particular. (845)

The connection between these two passages associates the opening lines of “Plaited” with the context that the harebell passage originates from. This, in turn, suggests a new purpose for the “realm of music”. Rather than taking the reader outside of the text, the passage is instead rooted in the same cultural politics that give rise to the harebell passage.

In “Snares”, the harebell passage is preceded by a discussion that builds on the material taken from Woolf that I consider earlier in this chapter, which connects the resistance to technological modernity that is explored earlier in the text with the broader theme of resistance to colonial rule. That discussion develops to shift the text’s focus away from the description of features of technological modernity — for

example, the “radio variety programmes” of the first section or the description of print culture that shapes much of “The World of Words” — in order to focus on the effect technological modernity has on individuals. Using Aldous Huxley’s 1937 book *Ends and Means* as its source, the speaker describes various mental distresses the individual is subject to: the “manic depressive”, the “potential victim of schizophrenia”, the “hebephrenes, paraphrenes, and pre-psychotic schizoids”, and “the syntonics, / The cyclothymes, the schizothymes” (843-844). The harebell passage is then presented as a potential response to these effects of modernity, with the mechanical and technological language of the preceding lines replaced by pastoral descriptions that are references as potentially restorative and rejuvenating: “flowers, plants, birds”; “Even the sheep are different / And of new importance”; “The flowers are all different and more precious”; etc (844-5). And, through the condition “as if” in the lines “We must look at the harebell as if / We had never seen it before”, the speaker suggests that such a response can be found in part through using a conscious act of will to refresh one’s engagement with reality: the individual must *deliberately* observe the harebell and, presumably, the various “flowers, plants, birds, and the rest”, rather than simply undertaking in a passive spectacle (844).

The intertext between the “realm of music” passage and the harebell passage therefore re-frames the “realm of music” within these thematic concerns. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, in “Snares” these extend — through references to those “Who question the authority of the machine”, such as “Aminu Kano in Nigeria, / Cheddi Jagan in ‘British’ Guiana, / Liam Kelly and the Fianna Uladh in Northern Ireland” — to colonialism and decolonisation. The two threads of colonialism/decolonisation and the impact of modernity on the individual both play out in “Plaited”, with *In Memoriam*’s “vision of world language” — which the text has already connected with its citational poetics — now positioned as a response to both.

The connection between decolonisation and MacDiarmid’s wider thought and poetic output has been considered by a number of critics, including Alan Riach. Riach

has argued that “[t]he development of twentieth-century literature is synchronized not to the progress of literature in England but to international changes, particularly to the patterns of developing cultural independence among people who in the history of colonialism have had English introduced or imposed as their official language”, and that “MacDiarmid’s general identification of Scots as wayward, outsiders, others, a breed of isolatos, implies a theory of aesthetics and politics specifically fashioned to deal with the post-colonial world” (“Introduction” xix, “Demolition” xxvi).

A further intertext in “Plaited” — one that is also an example of the self-citation whereby MacDiarmid makes use of material from his own earlier work — evokes the idea of *In Memoriam* as a “vision of world language” in a way that connects *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics with ideas relating to literatures of decolonisation. While the “realm of music” passage is largely made up of material from Busoni, as presented in *The New English Weekly*, it incorporates four lines from another, unspecified source:

Aodhagán Ó Rathaille meets again
The Brightness of Brightness in a lonely glen
And sees the hair that’s plaited
Like the generations of men ! (872)

The way in which this material is spliced into the Busoni material is immediately referenced in the text, which deploys further imagery relating to interwork to describe how “All the knowledge is woven in neatly / So that the plaited ends come to the hand” (872). This is itself suggestive of the “Idea and Word Chart” referenced in the opening lines of “The World of Words”, and therefore to the slightly earlier reference to Patrick Geddes’s “thinking graphics”: that is, to the organisation of the deluge of specialist information that is engendered by technological modernity (872). The first intertext here is the reference to “The Brightness of Brightness”, the English translation of Ó Rathaille’s aisling *Gile na Gile*. However, the Ó Rathaille fragment is itself a citation from *To Circumjack Cencrastus*:

Aodhagán Ó Rathaille sang this sang

That I may sing again;
For I've met the Brightness o' Brightness
Like him in a lanely glen,
And seen the hair that's plaited
Like the generations o' men. (224)

Ó Rathaille was a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Irish poet who developed the genre of Irish language vision poetry known as the “aisling”. Laura O'Connor has implied that MacDiarmid's awareness of the aisling came from Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland* (1925) and Aodh de Blácam's *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (1929); indeed, as Margery Palmer McCulloch and Kirsten Matthews have shown, the note that MacDiarmid provides to accompany these lines in *Cencrastus* is a direct quotation from *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (*Haunted* 145, 63-4). O'Connor relates how the *Scotia Irredenta* proposal MacDiarmid outlines in “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” “is indebted to *The Hidden Ireland*, a work of subaltern literary criticism which implicitly relates the 1916 insurrectionists' ‘dream’ to the *aisling*” and which, together with de Blácam's work, “stoked MacDiarmid's enthusiasm for a ‘Gaeldom’-based counteroffensive against the hegemony of the Pale” (*Haunted* 145). It seems, then, that via Corkery and de Bláclam MacDiarmid may have come to view the *aisling* as a kind of prototype for a poetics of decolonisation.

While critics have identified the relevance of the allusion *Cencrastus* makes to *Gile Na Gile* — W. N. Herbert has argued, for example, that it facilitates readings of the text as “a kind of distended *aisling*”, while O'Connor has contended that *Cencrastus* “explores and acts out the ‘dream work’ that is thematised by the *aisling*” — the reader of *Cencrastus* is left to infer this reference for themselves (*Circumjack* 74, *Haunted* 146). But when this material is incorporated into *In Memoriam* the speaker makes the allusion specific, through the addition of a footnote which clarifies that “The reference is to O'Rahilly's [sic] great *aisling* (i.e. vision poem), *Gile na Gile*” (872n1). The way in which *Gile na Gile* is characterised here as a “vision poem” is

suggestive of *In Memoriam*'s subtitling as "A Vision of World Language", and of the multiple references to "visions" that occur throughout the text: "I seek a ground where my personal vision seizes / The individual", "Blakes' [sic] visions" "all language in my vision now", "the complex vision of everything in me", "Expressing the complex vision of everything in one", "The vision is in no sense dynamic or prophetic / It is a vision of understanding, not creation", "Spontaneous visions showed to the hero", etc. (782, 808, 819, 822, 823, 835, 847). Indeed, the passage gives way to a cluster of imagery that is related to different versions and representations of visions that are themselves described in comparison to "the melodies hitherto heard and unheard" in the "realm of music":

Revealed as Krishna revealed his form
In the Udyoga-parva of the Maha-bharata
Or like the Vision of the Universal Form (visva-rupa darsanam)
Before which Arjuna bowed with every hair on his body bristling with awe
(Or like the tremendous vision
Which came to Buddha under the Bo-Tree
Or to Socrates when he heard, or dreamt he heard,
The Sybil of Mantinaea
Discoursing on mortal and immortal love
Or like Descartes' dream of November 10, 1619,
Near the environs of Ulm
When there were presented to him,
Coming as an enquirer after truth,
A Dictionary, representing knowledge,
And the volume of the Corpus Poetarum,
Which he took to be the symbol of inspiration,
Or like the 'sudden illumination' that came
To Benchara Branford one night in his fortieth year:

'At once was born into vivid and enchanting consciousness
A new metaphysical calculus of sixty-four
Inter-related cardinal categories, of which thirty-six
Were the transmuted forms of the Geddesian concepts.' (873)

This passage of *In Memoriam* therefore works to bring *In Memoriam*'s "vision of world language" — enacted, as I have argued, through the text's citation poetics — in line with the vision poetry of the *aisling*.

This reading of the text is reinforced by the way in which *In Memoriam* incorporates the *Gile na Gile* material from *Cencrastus*. In *Cencrastus*, the speaker takes on the role of the Gaelic bard and consequently identifies with Ó Rathaille, whereas in *In Memoriam* the way in which Ó Rathaille is meeting the Brightness of Brightness "again" hints at the fact that this material is being reused. The transformation of the material in *In Memoriam* makes the argument more concise — six lines of material are compressed into four lines, with the last line terminated by a jokingly playful exclamation mark — reveals a change in emphasis between the argument made in *Cencrastus* and that made in *In Memoriam*. The "Brightness of Brightness" is the vision that is described in the *Gile na Gile* *aisling*, so when the speaker in *Cencrastus* states that they have "met the Brightness o' Brightness" and "seen the hair that's plaited / Like the generations o' men" they are stressing their identification with Ó Rathaille (224). The Brightness appears as a woman, and her plaited hair is perceived directly and — while it retains a figurative resonance — literally by both Ó Rathaille and the speaker. But in *In Memoriam* the vision that Ó Rathaille is encountering is now the text that the speaker is creating: "the hair that's plaited / Like the generations of men" has become a pun on the title of the section that describes it, emphasised by the terminating exclamation mark that highlights the ironic nature of the preceding text in the same way as the exclamation marks used in earlier lines, such as "English is destined to become the Universal Language !" and "Trust the English to appropriate all they can !". By necessity, the speaker is therefore decoupled from Ó Rathaille, who

is assigned a similar status to Joyce, Yeats, and the other writers who are directly addressed by the text.

The re-emergence of language in the “realm of music”

Through the self-citation from *Cencrastus* MacDiarmid is therefore aligning his “vision of world language” — enacted, as I have argued earlier in this thesis, through *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics — with his perception of the *aisling* as a decolonising dream-vision. In this way, the text teases out the implications of the intratext identified by McCulloch between the “realm of music” passage and the harebell passage in “Snares”, as they relate to the references in “Snares” to colonialism and decolonisation. The latter part of the section then goes on to consider the second implication of that intratext: that is, the status of the individual subjected to technological modernity, as described in “Snares” via the material incorporated from Huxley regarding various forms of mental distress.

In this part of “Plaited” the text revisits the sequence of ideas developed in the first section of *In Memoriam* relating to language itself: first written language, then vocalised — both as speech and as song — and then broadcast, before the idea of the powerlessness of language then transitions into a kind of potent silence. In the first section of *In Memoriam*, the speaker placed this silence beyond the meaning that is explicit in the text, and in so doing facilitated a consideration of their doubts regarding the ineffectiveness of a linguistic response to those aspects of political and technological modernity that developed alongside global English. A similar dynamic plays out in “Plaited”. Via a further intertext, with MacDiarmid’s 1931 poem “The Seamless Garment”, the “realm of music” — which has become a place that exists beyond that potent silence — is reframed as a metaphor for the ideal form of *In Memoriam*’s “vision of world language”. However, the intertext McCulloch had identified between the “realm of music” and the harebell passage in “Snares” simultaneously relocates the abstract “realm of music” in the concrete realities of

that section of the text. This relocation seeds the re-emergence of language, which in turn triggers a crisis of confidence in the text's speaker regarding their "braid binding": that is, the bringing together of disparate materials to compose a text. This crisis of confidence is rooted in the text's relationship with its own perceived readership, which has been created — as described in Chapter Five — by the mass literacy that evolved symbiotically with global English but whose development has been stunted by the same forces of modernity that have been connected elsewhere in the text with ideas relating to global English, technological modernity, and colonialism. The crisis is resolved through a series of metaphors relating to symbiotic growth, through which the speaker asserts that the "vision of world language" can be developed in line with its readership.

While the first section of *In Memoriam* maintained a preoccupation with finding alternatives to the idea of English as a global auxiliary language, the "realm of music" passage suggests that the speaker intends to move to a space that facilitates expression but which is also outside of language altogether. On entering the "realm of music", "At first you hear nothing, because everything sounds. / But now you begin to distinguish between them. Listen" (871). In observing that "At first you hear nothing, because everything sounds" the speaker is also reconnecting with the potent silence they reached in the text's first section. But the "realm of music" also represents the realisation of *In Memoriam*'s vision of world language, as affected by the text's citation-poetics. More precisely, the "realm of music" describes a form of the vision that is idealised in the sense that it is already known and recognised: "It is not like stepping into a strange country / As we once did" (871). It both recognises the multiple individualities that a "vision of world language" must represent, but manages to hold them together in one multifaceted entity: "The heart of each separate living thing / Beats differently, according to its needs, / And all the beats are in harmony" (871). Indeed, the idea of the "realm of music" serving as a metaphor for an idealised form of *In Memoriam*'s "vision of world language" is reinforced by a further intertext. The

“realm of music” passage concludes with the Sanskrit line “Svaham aham samharami” (874). Apparent transcription errors aside, this translates — as per a footnote to the main text — as “I myself will again bind the braid together” (874n1).³ And this line prefigures a double reference to braid binding two pages later:

Have I failed in my braid-binding

At this great crisis

...

At this moment when braid-binding as never before,

The creation of the seamless garment,

Is the poet’s task? (876)

These lines establish an intertext with “The Seamless Garment”, a poem set in a textile mill in Langholm and in which weaving is used as a metaphor for politics and poetry and which describes poetry — specifically, the work of Rilke — as being “A seamless garment o’ music and thought” (312).

However, this establishes a tension in the “realm of music”, which is both idealised but also, via the intertext with the harebell passage in “Snares” identified by McCulloch, suggested as serving a role that is somehow resistant to technological modernity. It is this tension that emerges in the text immediately following the “realm of music” passage. The speaker attempts to extend the “realm of music” with a simile based on a citation from the André Malraux novel *The Days of Wrath*:

Or like that moment in which Kassner assembles

The scattered fragments of his personality

By identifying a strain of music

Heard through the walls of his cell

With the struggle of his comrades throughout the world

3. As Ramkrishna Bhattacharya observes, the line contains misprints and omits a number of diacritical marks (31). Bhattacharya finds the source of MacDiarmid’s translation of this line elusive; it can in fact be found in a footnote in Monier Monier-Williams’ *Indian Wisdom* (page 393 in the 1875 second edition), which also provides source material for the first three sections of *In Memoriam*. The transliteration provided by Monier-Williams matches that provided by Bhattacharya; it seems that a transcription error by MacDiarmid may be responsible for the scrambled version of the line that appears in *In Memoriam*.

In the same cause. (874)

But there is a significant difference here between the “strain of music” heard by Kassner and the “realm of music” described before the self-assured line of Sanskrit that immediately precedes the Kassner passage. The “realm of music” at first seems entirely instrumental, with its “rhythm”, “beats”, and “harmony” (871). This instrumentality then transitions to become an infinite, entirely abstract space, with “deep notes and ... high notes” that are “immeasurable in space and infinite as to number”, “undreamt-of scales” that “lead from one world to another, / Steadfast and eternally moved”, with “Each sound ... the centre of endless circles”, a “harmony” of “Innumerable ... voices”, and “all the melodies hitherto heard and unheard” present (871-2). By contrast, the Kassner passages is grounded in language and features specific voices that

called forth relentlessly

The memory of revolutionary songs

Rising from a hundred thousand throats,

Their tunes scattered and then picked up again by the crowds (874).

The speaker has therefore slipped backwards along the progression that began in the first section of the text and which has carried them from written language through to silence and the space beyond silence characterised as the “realm of music”. Language has, inevitably, re-emerged into the “realm of music”, bringing with it all of the contradictions and limitations that were explored in the first section of the text.

The speaker begins to resolve their crisis of faith through another address to Joyce — the first since “The World of Words”:

Ah, Joyce, not a word, not a word !

I speak to you as if you are still alive.

Alive?

Your memory and your work will live

As long as there are men of letters in the world (882)

While the “realm of music” exists beyond silence but outside of language, and while the Kassner passage suggests the return of the contradictions and limitations of language, here silence has returned: but, rather than being a general absence of sound this is a silence that is specifically an absence of language: “not a word, not a word !” (882). In the next line, the speaker acknowledges the suspension of disbelief that has underpinned all of the addresses to Joyce: “I speak to you as if you are still alive”, even though that speech is framed by a text that is titled “*In Memoriam*” of the subject of that speech (882). But the speaker goes on to question the meaning of “alive” in this context. Joyce himself may be dead, but his work and aspects of his existence continue to have some agency. However, that agency is itself predicated on there being “men of letters in the world” (882). The allusion here is to the “community of insight” that is described in *In Memoriam*’s first dedication, which includes John Tonge and James H. White as “Experts in, and enthusiasts of, / World Literature” and “in Scotland among the exceeding few / Competent receivers of all Joyce gave / And transmitters thereof”, and which is expanded throughout the first section of the text and identified with the international network of the Celtic brotherhood (736).

However, the speaker’s crisis of faith has also caused the re-emergence of a set of ideas that occurred earlier in the text regarding the development of humanity and the obstacles that stand in the way of “[t]he spiritual evolution from vile humanity / To authentic manhood and onward / To participation in self-universal” (877). But, in addition to reinforcing the framing of the “realm of music” as a metaphor for the “vision of world language”, the intertext with “The Seamless Garment” introduces that text’s concern with the idea of a readership, expressed through the speaker’s address to his millworker sousing where he admits his disconnection from the realities of industrial life: “The haill shop’s dumfounderin’ / To a stranger like me” (311). Here, then, stunted humanity is thought of more specifically as *In Memoriam*’s potential readership.

If the text’s readership is subject to the same influences that have elsewhere

been connected with global English, since the community of insight will always be limited, and the challenge *In Memoriam's* "vision of world language" faces in resisting technological modernity and colonialism will be increased by the need first to reach its own readership. The text resolves this issue — and, with it, the speaker's crisis of faith — by describing the way in which that readership will itself develop symbiotically along with the "vision of world language". Having characterised their readership as "Larvae, hallucinated automata, bobbins, / Savage robots, appropriate dummies, / The fascinating imbecility of the creaking men-machines", the speaker segues to another interpretation of their potential readership:

Yet, as Gaudapada says, even as a bed,
Which is an assembly of frame, mattress, bedding and pillows,
Is for another's use, not for its own,
And its several component parts render no mutual service,
Thence it is concluded that there is a man who sleeps upon the bed
And for whose sake it was made; so this world
Of words, thoughts, memories, scientific facts, literary arts
Is for another's use. (884)

From this point onwards the speaker's crisis of faith is gradually replaced by an emerging sense of optimism that is focused on the development of an imagined future readership. The speaker undertakes a confident speculation regarding how the ideal future reader of *In Memoriam* and other post-Joycean literature might develop now that the scientific interpretation of reality "has powerfully transformed / The human mind and caused the greatest type-change / In our history" (882). The section's repeated thematic references to plaiting, binding, and synthesis develop at this point, with the speaker claiming that just as "coal tar dyes are synthesised no more / To imitate the colours of nature" but instead

Display multitudes of syntheses
That transcend nature to reach

Almost a philosophic satisfaction

Of the aesthetic sense of colour. (885)

While the section's earlier references to synthesis — such as the plaiting of hair, the weaving of a garment, of the harmonising of musical parts — can all be connected to a pre-modern society, this reference to synthesis originates directly from scientific modernity. Here, the perceived failure of *In Memoriam*'s new poetics to reach a mass audience are inverted, so that the new poetics become the expression of a new modern human consciousness. This specific synthesis not only develops new, non-imitative colours, but in doing so it achieves a qualitative change that begins to transcend our understanding of what colour is and might be; indeed, the speaker then goes on to identify that such a transcendent synthesis can be read as a metaphor for “A society of people without a voice for the consciousness / That is slowly growing within them” (885).

Contrary to the speaker's earlier crisis of faith, the development of this consciousness is inevitable: it cannot be stopped “By sticking it away in a zinc-lined box / Like a tube of radium” (885). The text then revisits the Gaudapada bed metaphor, but the development of specific syntheses — amongst the section's various metaphors of plaiting, binding, and weaving — that are at first scientific but later themselves syntheses of science and the arts means that the speaker is now certain that “There can be no doubt / That the bed of which I have spoken will be filled” (886).

In Memoriam concludes with two verse paragraphs that reprise the address to Joyce and make use of a voice that is among the most informal and conversational of any in the text. This passage makes playful use of words from French, Greek, and German, before reminiscing about the ways in which Spanish has come to be localised in different parts of South America. In so doing, it first echoes the multilingualism that at various points in *In Memoriam* has been a significant aspect of the text's “vision of world language”, juxtaposing across only six lines “*C'est un numéro! C'est marrant*”, “A magnificent ek-stasis”, and “Counterpart of your great *Aufhebung* here / Der Sinn

des Schaffens” (888). But the way this is placed alongside examples of how Spanish has been localised through its own imperial internationalisation — “in Chile they use the word *roto* / To mean a peasant, a poor man, / In Guatemala called *descalzado*”, etc. — speaks to what David Crystal has termed the “New Englishes”, and a future for global English that “is likely to be one of increasing multidialectism” or perhaps even a fragmentation into a multilingualism based around an “English ‘family of languages’” (177). Indeed, the speaker’s final farewell to Joyce is the informal slightly flippant “Chau for now”, with “chau” glossed as “the word / They have in Peru for *adios*” (888). Here, Spanish has taken the loan word “ciao” from Italian, as is the case in a number of the versions of Spanish that have developed across South America. As is the case with the introduction in “Meeting” of ideas relating to the roots of English in Proto-Indo-European, here the suggestion of multi-dialectism serves to undermine the status of global English.

The resolution of the speaker’s crisis of faith therefore seems to have evolved to a position of considered optimism, whereby the speaker accepts the challenges their ambition will face but also perceives that the hegemonic position of any global language can itself lead to its fracturing into a set of dialects that, taken together, can themselves be recognised as a heterogeneous world language. This considered optimism is reinforced by the closing lines of *In Memoriam*: “And so, like Horace long ago, / ‘*Non me rebus subjungere conor!*’ / *Sab thik chha*” (889). A footnote specifies that the quotation translates to “I won’t let things get the better of me”, whereas the last three words are a Gurkhali sentence that means “Everything’s O.K.”: a sentiment which the text suggests “indicates that the author shares Werner Bergengruen’s conviction of what the German writer calls ‘the rightness of the world,’ despite all that may seem to enforce the opposite conclusion” (889n1). And, in terms of its source material, this considered optimism is framed by a continuation of the idea of the popular audience created by mass literacy. The source for the final stanza of the text is David Dodge’s popular 1948 detective novel *The Long Escape*. Here, then,

a text that is intended for a mass audience is quietly reframed for the presumed audience of *In Memoriam* by the text's citational poetics. As was the case with the way in which the "Idea and Word Chart" fragment at the beginning of "The World of Words" incorporated advertising copy, here the incorporation of a source text into *In Memoriam* effects a change of register. Material from Dodge's novel is decontextualised and presented to a new presumed readership who, unaware of its origins, would subject it to the same reading strategies as the material that preceded it. The categories that had initially triggered the speaker's self doubt are therefore playfully called into question.

In the previous two chapters of this thesis I argued that *In Memoriam* foregrounds its own use of citation and then connects that use of citation to ideas relating to the changing status of English as a global language. Some of these connections are more direct, such as the consideration of Basic English the speaker undertakes in the text's first section. Other connections are made via intermediate features of technological modernity — radio, print, or advertising, for example — that David Crystal argues to be intimately connected to global English. In this chapter, I continued to analyse the way in which *In Memoriam* develops these ideas. I showed how, in "The Snares of Varuna", *In Memoriam* extends its understanding of technological modernity, associating it with colonialism. In keeping with the assertion the speaker makes in the first section of the text that "linguistic imperialism ... sums up all the rest", in *In Memoriam* a challenge to "linguistic imperialism" can be seen as a challenge to imperialism in general. This is realised through the way in which the text connects the "vision of world language" that has found expression through the text's citational poetics with political decolonisation movements. I argued that "The Meeting of the East and the West" develops this idea further, introducing the idea of Proto-Indo-European to complicate the position of English as a global language. In "England is Our Enemy" and "Plaited Like the Generations of Men", *In Memoriam* extends the ways in which it makes use of citation. In "England", the use of an extended citation from

a well known source foregrounds the idea of tradition, thereby echoing the way in which *In Memoriam* established its citational poetics in its first section. I showed, finally, how the complex intertexts deployed in “Plaited” connect that section back to “Snares” in a way that provides further evidence that *In Memoriam* locates its “vision of world language” in the context of literatures of decolonisation.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this thesis I commented on how the uneven development of MacDiarmid studies has led, with some exceptions, to MacDiarmid's work from *To Circumjack Cencrastus* onwards receiving less critical attention than the work that preceded it. I hypothesised that while it may be possible to produce an understanding of MacDiarmid's poetic output that can account for work that exists on both sides of this (critically imposed) watershed, the lack of success demonstrated in this regard by approaches that focus initially on the pre-*Cencrastus* work suggested that it may be helpful to read MacDiarmid "backwards", first developing an approach that accounts for the later work — or some part or aspect of it — which could then be applied in some form or other to the earlier work.

MacDiarmid's evolving and seemingly evasive position in his contribution to the debate in the *TLS* letters pages regarding his apparent plagiarism of the work of other writers suggested one way in which such an approach might be developed. When accused of a specific, apparently isolated instance of plagiarism involving his use of the work of the Welsh poet Glyn Jones in his poem "Perfect", MacDiarmid apologised, claiming that this was, at worst, a careless mistake, rather than a calculated attempt to pass off the work of a third party as his own. However, when multiple correspondents came forward to point out other occasions when MacDiarmid appeared to have published plagiarised material, MacDiarmid's initial account seemed less believable. Indeed, he would go on to amend it in a further letter to the *TLS*, in which he frames his textual appropriations within the context of precedents set by T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and Samuel Johnson.

This suggested, then, that rather than being the result of an isolated lapse, the way in which MacDiarmid made use of Jones's work may have been a deliberate choice, one that was part of a broader approach to the composition of poetry. Moreover, while MacDiarmid's last contribution to the *TLS* debate is focused on accusations of plagiarism directed at *In Memoriam James Joyce*, MacDiarmid characterises his citational practise with the phrase "a strong solution of books" — itself borrowed from Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes — which he had previously used in a similar way in the preface to *Annals of the Five Senses* in 1923. It seemed that MacDiarmid's use of citation may provide a bridge between the earlier and the later work, and that understanding MacDiarmid's use of citation might contribute to an approach that could account for both.

In this thesis I have argued that the way in which *In Memoriam* makes use of citation is fundamentally important to the way in which the text creates its poetic effects. I have shown how a new knowledge of the source materials MacDiarmid used in the composition of the text — including an awareness of precisely how these source materials were transformed — facilitates new insights into *In Memoriam* that in turn provide the starting point for new readings of the text. While I framed MacDiarmid's use of citation as a development of, rather than a diversion from, his earlier poetic practise, I have shown that the way in which *In Memoriam* in particular makes use of citation is a response to a preoccupation with the changing status of English as a global language and to ideas that are related to that changing status. Through a series of close readings of material from each section of the text I demonstrated how *In Memoriam* foregrounds its own use of citation and then connects that use of citation to ideas that are related to global English. These ideas are sometimes related to global English more explicitly, such as the speaker's rejection of the possibility of English as a "Universal Language" in the first lines of the text or their analysis of the implications of the adoption of Basic English as an international auxiliary language. Or they might be more indirect, engaging instead with sets of ideas that are themselves

closely related (as David Crystal shows) to global English, such as radio broadcasting or print culture.

In my analysis of the second section of *In Memoriam*, “The World of Words”, I demonstrated how MacDiarmid uses specific forms of citational technique in order to create poetic effects which I have described as both generalist and simultaneist and which connect with various aspects of print culture. Then, in my analysis of the last four sections of *In Memoriam*, I developed my consideration of the relationship between the text’s citational poetics and global English to suggest a basis from which *In Memoriam* might be considered alongside postcolonial literatures and literatures of decolonisation. This could provide a basis from which other research into MacDiarmid’s work might be undertaken. Various critics have connected modernist bricolage techniques — of which *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics might be thought of as an example — with the postcolonial. For example, Simon Gikandi has written that “it was primarily — I am tempted to say solely — in the language and structure of modernism that a postcolonial experience came to be articulated and imagined in literary form” (420). Similarly, Jahan Ramazani has described “translocalism, mythical syncretism, heteroglossia, and apocalypticism” as “hybridizing literary strategies of postcolonial poetry that can be traced in part to Euromodernist bricolage” and includes these techniques, together with “ambivalent modernity, interstitial, cultural self-alienation and self-critique and dialogism” as being illuminated by “modernism’s relation to postcolonial poetry” in what might be termed “the postcolonial metaleptic” (449; 460). Indeed, for Ramazani it is precisely this bricolage, “the synthetic use in early twentieth-century poetry of diverse cultural materials ready to hand”, that “has helped the postcolonial poets encode aesthetically the intersections among multiple cultural vectors” (448). Approaches such as these may provide a way in which *In Memoriam*’s citational poetics — and the way in which those poetics interact with thematic concerns regarding global English — can be more broadly contextualised, and connected outwards to the work of other writers.

Moreover, while I have focused on *In Memoriam James Joyce*, I have approached my work in a way that might facilitate it being extended to account for MacDiarmid's other output. I mentioned *Annals of the Five Senses* in the introduction to this thesis, and then described at length the urtext that can be thought of as sitting between *In Memoriam* and its various sources and of playing a similar role for other of MacDiarmid's late work, including *Poems of the East-West Synthesis* and *The Battle Continues*. Citation of one form or another was present in MacDiarmid's work before the experiments with Scots begin with the lyrics of *Sangschaw*, and, going by the dates of the source material MacDiarmid used in the composition of *In Memoriam*, seems to return — in terms of composition, if not, immediately, publication — as MacDiarmid's Scots becomes less concentrated in the early 1930s at the start of the transition to various forms of English, Synthetic and otherwise.

But we might easily take this further. MacDiarmid does not write the poems of *Sangschaw* in Scots in the same way that he writes the prose of *Scottish Eccentrics* in English. MacDiarmid's Scots is "synthetic", a word with unhelpful overtones of "fake" or "false" but which has its origins in the Greek "suntithenai", or "to place together". It might be better described as "Synthesised Scots", as in the Scots that has been "placed together" from *Jamieson's* and various other dictionaries and phrase books. This has very clear echoes, of course, with the way in which the Synthetic English was "placed together" from, *inter alia*, *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary*: the meaning of "synthetic" there being confused even further, in the context of the way in which Synthetic English makes use of scientific and technical vocabularies, by the association with chemical synthesis. But the approaches that gave rise to MacDiarmid's Synthetic Scots and Synthetic English share significant common features with the version of the citational poetics that MacDiarmid deploys in *In Memoriam*. The sources that MacDiarmid used were different, and the way that MacDiarmid made use of them gave rise to work that can appear radically different, but at the most basic level of their implementation all three approaches share the processes of selection,

transformation, and combination that I described in Chapter Two.

In a career that critics have characterised as including a series of breaks and interruptions, MacDiarmid's use of citation seems to be a common factor throughout much of his work. We might therefore think of MacDiarmid primarily as a "citational poet", and engage with different parts of his *oeuvre* on that basis. While this work is predicated on the collection of data regarding the sources that MacDiarmid used, the collection of that data should be undertaken in the service of bigger questions. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the way that MacDiarmid selects, transforms, and combines his source material creates poetic effects on both the macro level and in terms of how each specific source is incorporated into a larger body of work. Though I have argued that MacDiarmid, amongst his many inconsistencies, consistently returns to his citational approach to composing poetry, it may be most valuable to study the inconsistencies and variations in his citational approach as it develops throughout his career. We might ask if and how MacDiarmid's choice of source materials changes over time, both formally and thematically, or how MacDiarmid subjects those source materials to different degrees and types of transformation, and whether variations in these approaches tend in general to lead to variations in the resulting work. It would seem, for example, that there may be an argument to be made for the way in which the selection of individual words (or groups of words) in the composition of the Scots lyrics leads to a tighter formal structure than the expansive verse paragraphs that arise from the use of longer initial selections, as is the case in *In Memoriam*. However, Patrick Crotty has recently discovered that the *Continental Sonnets*, published (under the name C. M. Grieve) in *The Scottish Chapbook* in 1922 and 1923, were each sourced from material that appeared in distinct issues of the *Times Literary Supplement* published between 29 September 1921 and 2 November 1922. This suggests, instead, that for MacDiarmid the *TLS* held a specific and sustained attraction as a source that could be used for the composition of a variety of formally diverse texts.

In addition to analysing the ways in which MacDiarmid's formal approach to

his use of citation changes (or not) over time, we might also interrogate the ends to which he put his different forms of citation. In this thesis I have argued that in *In Memoriam* MacDiarmid uses citation to facilitate the development of a “vision of world language” that is itself a response to the changing status of English as a global language during approximately the first half of the twentieth century. Are similar ideas suggested by the way in which the *Continental Sonnets* make use of similar source material, or in the creation of prose in *Annals*, or in the selections from *Jamieson’s* deployed in the Scots lyrics? In my explanation of MacDiarmid’s citational engagement with global English I made repeated reference to two important essays by MacDiarmid from the early 1930s, “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic Idea” and “English Ascendancy in British Literature”. I argued that these essays — and, in the case of the Gaelic Idea, the way in which MacDiarmid continued to develop its approach through the 1930s — inform the way in which this engagement is developed. It may be possible to make a stronger argument, which might in turn be used to undertake the work outlined above involving the analysis of how MacDiarmid’s formal use of citation varied over time. In this argument, MacDiarmid’s perception of the role global English was playing worldwide could be seen as an evolution of his perception of the role the English ascendancy was playing in Britain and Ireland, with his vision of world language providing a form of resistance to this “global English ascendancy” in a way that echoes the way in which his Synthetic Scots in part represented an attempt to diversify the British literary landscape. In recognising the spread of English across the globe as an amplification of a process that had first occurred closer to home, MacDiarmid may have also identified ways in which his long-standing use of citation could be developed to engage with that globalisation.

A further, secondary implication of my project relates to the way in which I was able to use *Google Books* and various other digital archives to locate much of the source material that MacDiarmid used in the composition of *In Memoriam James Joyce*. If scholarly engagements with MacDiarmid’s work continue to be based on

the discovery of his source material then it may be beneficial to reflect on the ways in which this discovery is undertaken. As I described in the introduction to this thesis, my source hunting methodology involved searching digital archives for phrases that appeared in *In Memoriam*. While this was significantly more efficient than the methods that were available before the advent of the digital archives that I used, the process of source hunting could be made more efficient still. I chose to undertake my searches myself in order to increase my familiarity with a text that, as a PhD student, I expected to be studying for a number of years, but this calculation will give different results for different scholars. Many may benefit from an automated approach that connects a digitised version of *In Memoriam* — one is now available through *Literature Online* — to those archives of material from which MacDiarmid took his sources, and then returns a set of data reflecting possible candidates for each source, including links to digitised versions of the originating texts.

While a project such as this is relatively simple from a technical point of view, it is impeded by two barriers that are outwith the control of any individual who wished to undertake it. The first of these barriers is the degree to which the material that MacDiarmid referred to has or has not been digitised. Part of the problem this presents is especially difficult to solve intentionally, since in some cases we cannot know that MacDiarmid used a particular source until it has been digitised and then discovered through a digital archival search. However, the automation of the search process means that the search of a given text could easily be repeated on a regular basis, meaning that material from newly digitised sources could be added to the collection of already known source material. Other parts of this problem could be solved deliberately. When it is believed that MacDiarmid took material from a particular source — as is the case, for example, with the *New English Weekly* — that source could then be digitised, beginning with those issues that are thought most likely to have been consulted by MacDiarmid for the purpose of finding source material: for example, in the case of *In Memoriam*, those issues that were published in

the same period as those issues of the *TLS* from which we knew MacDiarmid took a disproportionate amount of material.

The second barrier can also be addressed deliberately. Once a body of work has been digitised, further efforts are required in order to ensure that that body of work is readily searchable via an automated method in a manner that provides information for scholars in the most efficient way possible. Currently, when archives of periodicals are digitised the results of that process are presented as a series of human-searchable images. It is then possible to search these images, with versions of those images returned with the relevant sections of text highlighted. While a link to a highlighted image showing a given source in its original context is a useful — I would argue, in fact, necessary — element of the data that should be returned by such a search, it should also be accompanied by structured, machine-readable data: a full reference for the source, showing title, date, and author; and also a version of the source presented as raw text. This data can then be used to better search, sort, and filter the data that represents the source material that MacDiarmid drew on.

Reflecting on the way in which MacDiarmid's sources might best be identified raises questions regarding the ways in which the resulting data might best be presented. In this thesis that data is presented in an appendix in a series of tables, with each known source being listed in the order that it is used in *In Memoriam*. When read in print, those tables allow for cross-referencing with a copy of *In Memoriam*, but they cannot be easily queried in the same way that a digital version of the data might be. For example, the spreadsheet I used when compiling information about MacDiarmid's sources and then referred to when I analysed *In Memoriam* made it easy to find all instances of a citation from Monier Monier-Williams, whose work MacDiarmid makes use of at multiple points in the text, or to set up a filter to show only citations from the *Times Literary Supplement*, which could then be sorted by date in order to show the frequencies with which MacDiarmid cited material from the *TLS* in any given year. However, more advanced data models would facilitate more sophisticated searching,

by both humans and machines. Tim Berners-Lee has developed a rating system designed to encourage the adoption of Linked Open Data models — simply put, data that is both freely available and which facilitates machine readability and more complex queries — which provides a useful starting point for conversations regarding the presentation of data across the humanities. In summary, the data that represents *In Memoriam*'s sources should be presented in a way that is similar to the model for digital archives that I have described above: that is, in order to facilitate further manipulation of that data.

One way this source data might best be presented to readers of *In Memoriam* would be through a new, digital edition of the text itself. The Genettian hypertext I used to conceptualise *In Memoriam* in Chapter Two could be reflected in an electronic, HTML-based hypertext that would present searchable images of the 1955 MacLellan edition of the text but which would also provide contextual annotations to indicate the sources that MacDiarmid used in the composition of the text and the way that he used them. As is the case with the approach to digital archives and the general presentation of data in the humanities that I have outlined above, presenting a text in this way would be helpful for texts beyond *In Memoriam*. The aim, therefore, could be to develop the tools and standards that allow for the creation of digital archives and texts in the most useful form possible.

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Appendix

Front matter

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736	Our community of insight	two old friends	MacDiarmid				
736	John Tonge and James H. Whyte		MacDiarmid				
736	Experts in	sense of operative form	MacDiarmid				
736	And Prince Dmitry Mirsky		MacDiarmid				
736	A mighty master	most grateful pupil	MacDiarmid				
737	The real goal of progress	entire universe his own	Beresford, J. D., and Seaver, George	Count Keyserling's Faith	10/9/1938	TLS	580
737	Tatra visvam	ekanimam	Not yet known				
737	Vers touts	reunies					
737	To purify the dialect of the tribe		Mallarmé	Le tombeau d'Edgar Poe			
737	The true unity of languages	interpenetration of all languages	Solovyov	The Justification of the Good: An Essay on Moral Philosophy	1897		
737	Languages, grammars, all the ramifications	hearts of many peoples	Freeman, J. H.	The Journalist at Home and Abroad: Harold Williams: 'A Cheer- ful Giver'	23/11/1935	TLS	755
737	Ogni voce in tuo	eternal motions	Alcyone	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	1903		
737	did I not need	which are in use	Elegy for Dr Dunn	Lord Herbert of Cherbury	?1631		
737	Yes, Joyce's work does	life being born afresh	Not yet known				

“In Memoriam James Joyce”

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
738	I remember when	of the Aryan Road	MacDiarmid?				
738	English is destined	direction is Chaos	Alfred Garbutt Pape	The Politics of the Aryan Road	1928		
738	We who are concerned with...		MacDiarmid?				
738	...the living whole	ever been written	T. S. Eliot	Tradition and the Individual Talent	1919		
738	And the sodalicii		Hubert, Henri	The Greatness and Decline of the Celts	1934		
738	Of all the authors	concerned with now	Not yet known				
738-9	Fame, the groyl	sight from slumber amooing	Richard Stanihurst	translation of the Aeneid			
739	And did he not anticipate Gerard Manley Hopkins too?		MacDiarmid				
739	Much like as in cornshuks	pastor amazeth	Richard Stanihurst	translation of the Aeneid			
739	Porson with his	precipitevolissimevolmente	Not yet known				
739-40	Hardy with words	poetical purple invokes	Ifor Evans, Benja- min	English poetry in the later nine- teenth century	1933		
740	And on to Doughty and Hopkins	T. S. Eliot's line	Not yet known				
741	“Bewray the repricon, outstent the naze”		Devaney, James	Poetry in Our Time	1952		
741	And myself with my Ecclefechan Gongorism		Not yet known				
741	And even Spender's ‘the narcine torpesce’		Devaney, James	Poetry in Our Time	1952		
741	Since ecdisis is	the distant past	de Madariaga, Salvador, Don	“The Peoples of the Central Andes.”	9/5/1952		311
741	I delight in all these	and his sixty languages	Not yet known				
741	Browning with his	discontinuing old aids ...	Browning, Robert	Sordello	1840		
741-2	... words like the fortune-telling table	who can articulate it	Not yet known				
742	Aum; the support	the universal self	David-Neel, Dame Alexandra	Magic and Mystery in Tibet	1932		
742	We know that total speech	introduction to History	Not yet known				

742-3	Stohr's Algebra	the language of science	Moore, Ralph Westwood.	Syntax and Logic	21/8/1937	TLS	604
743	And Alan Gardiner's exposé	language and speech	Onions, C. T.	Speech and Language	30/3/1933	TLS	220
743	And Kostas Palamas	and Padraic O'Conaire	Not yet known				
743	And R. L. Stevenson's	and Nijni-Novgorod	Stevenson, R. L.	The Wrong Box	1889		
743	Only an Englishman	I love best are they	MacDiarmid?				
743-4	Who have lived	outside of marriage	Russell, John	The Wisdom of Age	14/3/1952	TLS	188
744	There is much to be said today for reviving		MacDiarmid?				
744	The poetical method	themselves to him	Ross, E. Denison, Sir	Persian Poetry	24/9/1934	TLS	641
744	And not attempting	For 'unknown modes of being'	James, D. G.	Scepticism and Poetry	1937		
744	Illimitable abyss of unquiet speculation	escape seems so difficult	Murry, John Middleton	Georgics in Prose	20/3/1937	TLS	200
744	I agree with the Swiss littérature		MacDiarmid?				
744	Let us regard	imitate and develop	Raymond, Marcel	From Baudelaire to Surrealism	1947		
744-5	Even as Migliorini's chapter	for a supplier style	Praz, Mario, Professor.	Foreign Guests	10/9/1938	TLS	582
744	And all this here	I never mention	Fausset, Hugh l'Anson.	The Tragic View	30/9/1939	TLS	566
745	And, above all	with his supreme tolma / His glorious insistence ...	Not yet known				
745	...the words that are swallowed up		Shestov	In Job's Balances III			
745	His indeflectable concern	living still	Not yet known				
745	Most cunning dealers in zaumny and skaz		Not yet known				
745	And workers	Omnific Word	Not yet known				
745	That heroic genius	für ewig	Halpern, Alexander J.	More about Gramsci	5/12/1952	TLS	796
745	Valéry's Poésie	sur la Langage	Hevesi, J. L. (ed)	Essays on Language and Literature	1948		
745-6	Countless references	forms of infant life	Not yet known				
746	Welcome, then, Joyce	alone we can live	MacDiarmid?				

746	We who know	and feel ourselves	Murry, John Middleton	Charles Montagu Doughty	11/2/1926	TLS	85
746	What Valéry calls	decisive spiritual conquest	Valéry	"On Mallarmé"			
746-7	Where nothing matters	impossible for truth to overtake it.	Not yet known				
747-8	As for the eyes' elaborate arrangements	motor action in connection with sight	Dibblee, George Binney	Instinct and Intuition: a Study in Mental Duality	1929		348
748	Scotland has not developed	nothing clear in its own mind.	Not yet known				
748	Ah Jenny Lind	twenty-eight years old	Mayne, Ethel Colburn	Enchanters of Men	1909		
748-9	How could I fail	For well I know	Not yet known				
749	The more a poet can open	he is likely to write	Philip Sherrard	David Gascoyne	1954	Nine Vol IV, No 1, Winter 1953-4	63
749	Only I am dealing	Young Polo Pony	Not yet known				
749	Or with telling a ship's cook	liver of a porpoise	Gates, Barrington	In Chinese Waters	25/4/1935	TLS	266
749	Rather than	Mayi Ariztia	Williams, Orlo, et al	New Foreign Books	25/4/1935	TLS	272
749	Or Wiro ...		Wheeler, Gerald Clair William Camden	In Tribute to Dr Marett	13/6/1936	TLS	492
749	... or the Venetian	giustiniane	Eyles, Vivyan, Miss, Randall, Alec Walter George, Sir, and Gishford, Anthony Joseph	New Foreign Books	12/7/1934	TLS	492
749	Or the fifty-two	Davida	Morrow, Ian Fitzherbert Despard, Williams, Orlo, and Selver, Paul.	New Foreign Books	20/3/1937	TLS	222
750	That Villonesque	as I do / That ...	Not yet known				
750	...to cut a man off	the universe of experience	Muirhead, J. H.	Bernard Bosanquet and His Friends	1935		
750	For this is the poetry I want --	the Racinian purpose	Not yet known				

750	Remembering Pegúy's	the world [sic] 'cruel'!	Turnell, Martin	Racine's Poetry	8/2/1952	TLS	112
750-1	Of following with	devoid of the reality	Not yet known				
751	And enjoying	down the Clyde / An excursion among ...	MacDiarmid?				
751	...the American Indian languages	and Lexicon ...	Bloomfield, Leonard	Language	16/4/1905		
751-2	... where he once more explodes	Worthington English	Not yet known				
752	To Lichtenberg's	in dialect	Cohen, J. M.	Georg Christoph Lichtenberg	28/9/1951	TLS	612
752	For it is in literature as it is in mountaineering		MacDiarmid				
752	Inevitable when once	new climbing problems	Lunn, Arnold, Sir	The Fascination of Mountains	28/9/1951	TLS	611
752	And just as any	man's everyday life	Not yet known				
752	For in the	means language	Hawkins, Denis John Bernard, Rev. Dr.	Perplexity in Philosophy	25/1/1947	TLS	54
752-3	Once again we seek	a mixed boon too	Chapman, R. W.	The Scholar's Defence	25/1/1947	TLS	53
753-4	We are for the very	wretched manifestations	Not yet known				
754	"As Valéry said	la théologie	Not yet known	Horizon			
754	The dividing line	simple way of life	Shand, P. Morton	Trappings of Life	28/9/1951	TLS	614
754n	"lo cursi", a "Slang word current meaning condition of artificial gentility"	Not yet known				
754-5	We have the privilege	of Waterford	Russell, John.	The Prose of Paul Valéry	31/8/1951	TLS	548
755	Papimento, mixture of half the languages on earth		Not yet known				
755	The construction Apo Koinou in the German languages		Meritt, Herbert Dean	The construction apo koinou in the germanic languages	1938		
755	Notando Jabavu and her native Xhosa		Not yet known				
755	And comment on the collapse	obvious disaster	Russell, John	The Prose of Paul Valéry	31/8/1951	TLS	548
755	Hence this hapax legomenon	fonds de tiroir	Not yet known				
755	This -- even more	dialectal lyric	Belgion, Montgometry	The 'Offence' of the God-Man: Kierkegaard's Way of Faith	27/3/1937	TLS	229
755	This rag-bag	back in kind	Not yet known				

755-6	To the Eddic	before Shakespeare	Waddell, L A	The British Edda	1930	
756	You remember it?		Not yet known			
756-758	Let the only consistency	In these gold pavilions	Not yet known			
757	...gelatinous limpness of a body	tissues are still alive!	R. Austin Freeman	The Moabite Cipher	1909	
757	Poetry is human existence	come up by	Not yet known			
757	This single-minded zeal	as the English say	Clarke, Austin	Yeats's Inner Drama: A Poet of Two Reputations; Appeal of the Later Works.	4/2/1939	TLS 72
757-8	But I have it	dodecaphonic bonfire	Not yet known			
758-9	They are not endless	spargosis of stars	MacDiarmid	In the Caledonian Forest		Stony Limits
759	Let us arise	calf-country' is Siksha	Not yet known			
759	The science of proper pronunciation	Vopadeva...	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom		160-78
759-60	...we know them all	(like pot-hook) for θ	Not yet known			
760	Even as we know how		Not yet known			
760	Costa I Llobera's	rocks by the sea	Todd, Henry Alfred	Romantic Review	1927	Vol 18 p. 18
760-1	And have understood	universally accessible	Not yet known			
761	Loving to trace back	Vaquieras	Not yet known	London Mercury	1937	364
761	Or, brooding	Bulgarski Narodni Pesni	Not yet known			
762	Even as we delight	can be described as rare	Not yet known	Other New Books	9/11/1935	TLS 723
762	We who have sat with Kurds	of all mankind	Not yet known			
762	And even as we know Shelta, Hesperic Latin, and Bearlagair		Flower, Robin Ernest William	Irish Languages and Cyphers	20/3/1937	TLS 219
762	Knowing them as	field of trefolium	MacDiarmid	My Heart Always Goes Back to the North	1/7/1948	"Poetry" 175+
762-3	Even as we know	Or even as we know	Not yet known			

763	Schweitzer and Cappelletti on the Cimbric language	Homeyer, Helene, Mrs	The Cimbric Language	15/12/1950	TLS	796
763	Of the last descendants of the old Lombobards	Not yet known				
763	Tibetan influences Takelma language	Ogden, C. K.	Philological Studies	11/8/1950	TLS	502
763	Studies in the language third century A. D.	Not yet known	Other New Books	7/8/1937	TLS	577
763	A practical introduction to Ruq'ah script	Not yet known	??Books Received	23/7/1954	TLS	478
763	And Pirandello's treatise von Girgenti	Not yet known				
763	And rejoicing in all those intranational differences which	Not yet known				
763	Each like a flower's rose or sweet pea	Eliot, T. S	John Marston	26/7/1934	TLS	517
763	Or even as restless movements of the sea	Not yet known				
764	Di, a wave graef and ljoag	Spence, John	Shetland Folk-Lore	1899		118-9
764	Or like the differences of their sunlit seas	Not yet known				
764	We commend two passages this from Mallarmé	Not yet known				
764	To evoke in a deliberate shadow an attempt very near creation	Mallarmé				
764	The other is from a book on Buddhism	Not yet known				
764-5	It would be possible to write all sorts of indirect ways	Bissett, James	The Religious Consciousness	1920		
765	The way is the way Chinese calligraphy	Not yet known				
765	When a Chinese calligrapher Bach Partita	Porteus, Hugh Gordon	??	c. 1935-45	The New Age / New English Weekly	
765	A language in which manner of a fat person	Not yet known				
765-6	The real humanity effort can keep alive	Not yet known				
766	While the Sicilians conformity with its scientific spirit	Greene, G A	Italian Lyrists of Today	1898		
767-71	And, above all, Karl Kraus Its own silence without breaking it	Gates, Barrington, and Heller, Erich, Dr.	"SATIRIST IN THE MODERN WORLD."	8/5/1953	TLS	293
771	Silence supervening at poetry's height Or as...	Not yet known				

771	...laughter is the	tragedy is away	Geoffrey Wagner	The Wild Body: A Sanguine of the Enemy	1917	Nine Vol IV, No 1, Winter 1953-4	24
771	Short of miracles	constantly beside themselves	Gates, Barrington, and Heller, Erich, Dr.	"SATIRIST IN THE MODERN WORLD."	8/5/1953	TLS	293
771-2	So beyond all that is	with kingfisher brilliance	Not yet known				
772	Seeking always for that	becomes known	Fausset, Hugh I/Anson	Fruit of Contemplation	25/6/1954	TLS	413
772	That which we	know itself in us	MacDiarmid?				
772	Since "determinatio est negato"		Hegel				
772	'Suddenly "chaos falls silent in the dazzled abyss"		Not yet known				
772	Cio che lo mio intellectto non comprende		Dante	La Commedia			
772	Thin, thin the pleasant	the city gleams	Arnold, Matthew	In utrumque paratus	22/1/1905		
772	O poet, hold thy piece and be content		Not yet known				
772	Like the amount	implicit in the score	Gorer, Richard	The Chamber Music of Dvorak	1954	The Listener	37
772	Or like Monsieur Teste who 'dies without confessing'		Not yet known				
772	Or Olivier	Anges gardiens	Not yet known				
772	Or the blanks	flights of the thought	Not yet known				
772	L'attente	pris corps	Mallarmé	Coup de Dés			
772	Or like Hindemith	first learn to decipher	Not yet known				
772-3	Even so	potentiality of being	Heidegger	Being and Time			
773-6	But Kraus's poetry	overpowered and speechless	Gates, Barrington, and Heller, Erich, Dr.	"SATIRIST IN THE MODERN WORLD."	8/5/1953	TLS	293
776	But in this poem	these difficulties	Not yet known				
776	As no more	aphyllum	Brooke, Jocelyn	Botanizing in Malaya	12/3/1954	TLS	172
776	And the only bird in it -- a Bermudan Cahow		Not yet known				
776	Or, others may think	make the birds weep!	Brooke, Jocelyn	Botanizing in Malaya	12/3/1954	TLS	172
777-8	Or, again, as in Spain	and temporal terms	Not yet known				

778	Ranging from the phonetic and tonal structure of Efik, say	Bland, John Otway Percy, et al.	New Books and Reprints	28/7/2015	TLS	652+
778	To Ondra Lysohorsky's poems	Czech and Polish	Selver, Paul, et al	New Foreign Books	28/3/1935	TLS
778	Dorn's "Chrestomathy of the Pushtu and Afghan Tongues	Not yet known	Hubert, Henri	The Rise of the Celts		211+
778	And, above all	Vannetais	Hubert, Henri	The Rise of the Celts		
778	Celtiberian	Breton heiz	Hubert, Henri	The Rise of the Celts		
778	For we have fallen	mind and personality	Not yet known			
778-9	And we rise	d, sd, st	Hubert, Henri	The Rise of the Celts		
779	To a perfect	sain	Not yet known			
779	And the arts of gair llanw and tor ymadrodd		Jones, Gwyn, Professor	Prince of Celtic Bards	30/5/1942	TLS
779	Never grudging the time we spend	elements in a morpheme	Not yet known			273
779-80	Until I wish writing	pattern of peasant edging	Moore, Mairanne	Perspicuous Opacity	24/10/1936	The Nation
780	We are no farther	a mainly Flemish speech	MacDiarmid	In the Shetland Islands		484-5
780	We must know	size and weight	Not yet known			
780	All the phrases	woodchuck eating a carrot!	Wilson, Edmund		1937	Harper's Magazine
780-1	Despite the great difficulty	the prospect of success	Morrah, Dermot Michael Macgregor.	Chess Strategy and Tactics.	14/8/1937	TLS
781	Even so, as Schopenhauer says	Scientific instrument...	Mehring, Franz	Philosophy and Philosophizing	1909	590
781-2	... my friend / There lie hidden	spiritual geography	Not yet known			
782	When imagination	properly speaking, begins	Kierkegaard, Søren	Journals		
782	A language, a poetry	foreign to the older theories	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948	
782	A poetry in keeping with the human nervous system		MacDiarmid?			
782-3	The human-natural-history	cruder animalistic patterns	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity		
783	Necessarily pathological	order in evaluation	Not yet known			
783-4	The present status of the white race	lack of creativeness	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948	

784	Nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia mundus regatur	Oxenstierna, Axel	Letter to his son Johan	1648
784	The old animalistic	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948
784	The poet of the future	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948
784	So we must	Not yet known		
784	That the objective levels are not words	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948
784	The so-called 'unknowable'	Korzybski, Albert	Science and Sanity	?1948
784-5	Specific differentiation	Wells, H. G.	The Anatomy of Frustration	1936
785-6	Metaphysical and empirical	Vossler, K	The Spirit of Language in Civilisation	
786	Something that stands	Not yet known		
	Allen gehört was	Schiller		
786	Language	Not yet known		
786	Accomplishing what it pleases	John Davies	Hindu Philosophy	
786-7	As the horrific fabric	Not yet known		
787	Where the Paneubiotic	Smith, Garnet	"A Guide to Welfare: Cosmic Energies as Medicine."	378
787	With, ever just beyond	Fausset, Hugh l'Anson	"Songs and Incantations."	267
787	Ever just beyond	Not yet known		
787	For is perfection	Howes, F. S.	"Modern Acoustics."	265
787	Able to dispense at any moment with the elaborate	Not yet known		
787	Apparatus our Western	Richards, I A	Mencius on the Mind	1932
787-788	And, after all, a generation	Richards, I A	Mencius on the Mind	1932
788	I look with confidence	Not yet known		
788	All prejudices	Richards, I A	Mencius on the Mind	1932
788	Peoples of a hundred	Richards, I A	Mencius on the Mind	1932
788	And heaven only knows	Not yet known		

788	What threatens ethnography	the ecological one	Wheeler, Gerald Clair William Camden	Buddhistic Links	20/6/1936	TLS	522
789	Even those	neutral auxiliary language	Not yet known				
789-90	Artfully dissemble their knowledge	orthological' clothing	Albert Léon Guérard	Europe Free and United	1945		
790-1	A Sanskrit sutra	knowledge than's available now	Not yet known				
791	It is unnecessary to insist	Middle Kingdom to Voltaire	Child, Harold Han- nyngton	A Literary Banqueter	9/12/1939	TLS	716
791	But on the subordination	'syntaxis' from 'parataxis'	Not yet known				
791	Or in an account	developed into lyrical drama		"Other New Books."	2/5/1936	TLS	380
791-2	And so on to Shalom Jacob	Or, again	Not yet known				
792	Ferreira de Castro's	Canudos fell	Not yet known				
792	And José	and litterateurs	Coulthard, G. R.	"Gaucho Classic"	9/4/1949	TLS	235
792	And Homburger	in a wider perspective		"Books Received."	19/3/1949	TLS	190+
792	The poet, Franz Tamayo	most modern languages	Trend, John Brande, Lieutenant.	The Poet in Power	19/2/1944	TLS	93
792	And Domingo Faustino	and the flaneur	Phillips, W. Alison, Trend, John Brande, Lieutenant, and Joffe, Semion.	"PHILOSOPHER AND REVOLU- TIONARY."	19/2/1944	TLS	93
793	And Tarao	the Japanese spirit	Coulthard, G. R., and Blunden, Ed- mund Charles.	"FROM THE JAPANESE."	9/4/1949	TLS	235
793	And asking ourselves	is that climax	Not yet known				
793	And so on Sequoyah	today could equal	Hightet, Gilbert	Man's Unconquerable Mind	1954		
793	The term	Hebrew Liturgical Poetry		Contemporarp Publications.	20/4/1954	TLS	288
793	Edward Sapir	Tarahumara	Not yet known				
793	Shirokogoroff	Tungus	Wheeler, Gerald Clair William Camden.	Buddhistic Links	20/6/1936	TLS	522

793	If that line	what poetry is!	MacDiarmid?			
793-4	And my fellow-Scot, Gibb	Of modern poets	Beckingham, Charles Fraser, Professor	Historical Studies in Turkey	23/4/1954	TLS 270
794	Concerned, I repeat	progressive elaboration	Not yet known			
794	The supreme organ	self-governing growth	Fraser, G. S	Science and the Humanities	7/5/1954	TLS 297
795	How can you get on	and wakri	Scott, William Bell		1892	
795	But, when he pleas'd	languages at once	Coleridge, S T	Hudibras		
795	Have we not	travelled all over	MacDiarmid?			
795	What the Arab	ravaged by disease			1953	News, a Soviet Review of World Events 11
795-6	And to-day	system of his own	Not yet known			
796	Yes, I will have	Simultaneist poems	Richardson, John Patrick.	"The Dada Movement."	23/10/1953	TLS 669+
796	Grab-bags and cliches	And expressions of innocence	Motherwell, Robert (ed)	The Dada Painters and Poets	1951	164
796	And abstract sounds	never turns out to be	MacDiarmid?			
796	Merely the Rumanian	fatagaga	Richardson, John Patrick.	"The Dada Movement."	23/10/1953	TLS 669+
796-7	Even as before	not be preferred	Not yet known			
797	And greatly I love to hear a girl		MacDiarmid?			
797	Back from three	20th century things	Dodds, E. R. (ed.)	Journal and Letters of Stephen MacKenna	1936	
797	And wish I might	ogam air	Not yet known			
797	Virgil salutes him	hand doth Dante reach	Watson, William	Lachrymæ Musarum		
797-8	For this is the kind	houses you can have	Not yet known			
798	Gurjun	Dalli	?Hart, Gerald	?Timbers for House Building	1954	
798	Seeing everything	the city Dionysia	Scott-Kilvert, Ian S	The Athenian Theatre	11/9/1953	TLS 576
798	Remembering how the same	bronze or wood		THE ARTIST'S MEDIUM.	12/6/1943	TLS 286

798-9	And, in short	their environment	Purves-Stewart, James, Sir.	Our Channels of Knowledge.	7/9/1946	TLS	430
799	And, unlike the artist	forms of animal life	Not yet known				
799	Tapeworms	degenerate and superfluous	Purves-Stewart, James, Sir.	Our Channels of Knowledge.	7/9/1946	TLS	430
799	Unaware of matter	in the least inscrutable	Barnes, Ernest William, Rev. Canon.	The Myth of Materialism	7/9/1946	TLS	424
799	If we think that	Raum der Rühning	Not yet known				
799	Are like the Albani	tasted of Paradise	Berenson, Bernard		1909		
800	Or even as we know	and even English	Archer, Charles, Lieutenant-Colonel	The Brahui Language	25/4/1936	TLS	346
800	Or even as we know the special	family jargons	Not yet known				
800	Or even as we know Slovanské Spisovné Jazyky V Dobé Pritomné		Selver, Paul, et al.	"New Foreign Books."	18/12/1937	TLS	964
800	And Ratna, the Mandaean vernacular		Lorimer, Emily Overend, Mrs.	The Mandaean Religion	25/12/1937	TLS	971
800	Or even as we know Burushaski	and no history	Turner, Ralph Lilley, Dr	The Burushaski Language	6/6/1936	TLS	472
800	Irrelate as Moschatel in the world of flowers		Not yet known				
800	Spoken by so small	language in the world	Turner, Ralph Lilley, Dr	The Burushaski Language	6/6/1936	TLS	472
800-1	Going all the way	back of our minds	Not yet known				
801	Leibniz's	depends upon the imagination	Bell, E. T.	Men of Mathematics			
801-2	And on to Patrick Geddes'	exclusion principle	Not yet known				
802	And on to Cantor	resides in its freedom	Bell, E. T.	Men of Mathematics			
802	And so to Schrodinger's	problem that may arise		Cambridge University Press.	23/3/1946		135
802	On towards the calculus of ideas then		MacDiarmid?				
802	While handling a simple	curve is spotted		"Speaking of Pictures"	21/3/1949	LIFE Magazine	17-
803	And so on	Through all creation's forms forever	MacDiarmid?				
803	So how can one write	Mathematics of Psychology	Not yet known				
803	Techniques which deal	venturi tubes		Books Received	9/11/1951	TLS	718

803	Olaf Rudbeck	Latin and Swedish	Not yet known			
803	Or the Krio	Sierra Leone	Peristiany, John George	Tribal Disintegration	15/2/1952	TLS 129
803-4	Schopenhauer	Palocz race		Frigyes Riedl	1906	
804	Dobrente's Regi	for a moment to lift	Not yet known			
804	The heavy silk curtains and look			Frigyes Riedl	1906	
804	A rich egocentric	Cyril Connolly	MacDiarmid?			
804	Through the porphyry-framed	and Argiopolis		Frigyes Riedl	1906	
804	Yet always	such new discoveries	MacDiarmid?			
804-5	As the Goad	in its claws	Carew, Dudley	Two Institutions	9/4/1949	TLS 231
805	Most partial	familiar with first	MacDiarmid?			
805	Which almost	behind anything	Carew, Dudley	Two Institutions	9/4/1949	TLS 231

“The World of Words”

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
805	“Words alone are certain good”		Yeats	“The Song of the Happy Shepherd”	1885		
805	The philosophy of the middle ages	to undulate, or wiggle.	Haldane		1931	The Rationalist Annual	
805	Easy — Quick — Sure	The best adjunct I have so far discovered		Advert	1949	Writers' and Artists' Year-book 1949	375
805-6	We have of course studied thoroughly	Of art stimulus	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929		
806	... and know Sterzinger's findings	und anderer Vorstellungsbilder	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929		
806-7	And, of course, the	a host of other subjects	Phillips, W. Alison, Mrs, and Walker, Ernest, Dr.	“New Foreign Books	18-Sep-37	TLS	675

807	Carr on 'The Visual Illusion of Depth'	Bullough on 'Psychical Distance'	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	
807	And are learned in all manner	mind from the adverb				
807	The psychomotor effects of different sound combinations		Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	73
807-8	The fact that poetry	motor discharge	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	75
808	Acoustic terms in Schiller	posture or a movement reaction	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	79-82
808	Swinburne's tonal vision	imaginative in significance	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	102
808	Coleridge's miraculous memory	streaming associations	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	164
808-9	The goal is that	chain of reflexes	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	164
809	Restoring memories	focus of consciousness	Downey, June	Studies in the Psychology of Literature	1929	156
809	And we are fully	of aspirations	Bodkin, Maud	Archetypal Patterns in Poetry	1934	1
809	And we are rich	which he can only report	Bodkin, Maud	Archetypal Patterns in Poetry	1934	185
809	I understood it not	its melody outright	Dante	Divine Comedy		
809	And along with these that		Not yet known			
809	...stock problem of the Gluck critic	As purely and perhaps inflexibly as possible		"Muses and Sirens."	1936	The Spectator 26
810	And the very mysterious line	just where she left off		Notes to the Fifth edition of the Rubaiyat		
810	Rilke's debate whether he should write in German or Russian		Not yet known			
810	The conflict in Jakob Wassermann	of his Jewish race	Randall, Alec Wal-ter George, Sir	Wassermann to his Wife.	22-Aug-35	TLS 520
810	The archaic elements	real discoveries about his poetry	Not yet known			
810	And on to the Indian science of proper pronunciation	27 x 4 to 999 x 4 syllables.	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom		160-166

810	(Even as in Gower's Confessio Amantis	Apollonius of Tyre in about 2000	Not yet known			
810-11	Even as, in modern angling	Problems of conservation, niceties of fly-dressing	Headlam, Maurice Francis	"Trout and Tide"	16-May-36	TLS 413
811	And then, of course, there is	difficult Vedic words	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom		166
	In the Nirukta-parishishta	wild animals, and soul	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom		169
811-814	We are familiar with the phenomena of psychic epilepsy	Which awakens his attention	Ireland, William Wotherspoon	The Blot upon the Brain		
814	So we have read Bridgman	And his intention	Not yet known			
814-5	And we have read all	are soon forgotten	Ireland, William Wotherspoon	The Blot upon the Brain		
815	So Gobineau	adding to the new	Duclaux, Mary, Madame.	The Tharauds and Gobineau.	21-Dec-33	TLS 906
815	Ah! China!	are impossible	Gide, André	The Journals, vol III		
	Of all the literary	the tien kou	MacDiarmid?			
815	C'est une façon	l'art poétique chinois			1962	Film Studies 83
816	Of course, as Galton long ago established	Of consciousness of awareness — of what?	Ryle, Gilbert, Professor.	The Psychology of Thinking.	25/4/1952	TLS 284
816	The world of Baroque	The symbol of it all	Turnell, Martin	he Age of Baroque in France	12/2/1954	TLS 97
816	Thought — psychons analogous	To the photons of a sunbeam	Carrel, Alexis	Reflections on Life	1953	
816-7	For it's no use employing a medium	Planes within our purview	Not yet known			
817	Mistral, Carl Spitteler	Rasmus Effersoe, and ...	Not yet known			
817	... Ceiriog who wrote of himself	crodd feirdd	Hughes, John Ceiriog			
817	Cesare Pascarella, and Carlo Salustri		Steed, Henry Wickham	"Roman Satire."	9/11/1951	TLS 715
817	And, of course, Al Capp, opening great new vistas		Mikes, George	The Art of an Unknown Future	29/5/1953	TLS 348
817	In these days	different nations and langauges	MacDiarmid?			

817	And high among them	En La Boira	Not yet known	
817	With, in his obscure	Pomera daurada	Not yet known	
817-8	I think there should be	attractive, of course	MacDiarmid?	
818	Then sing your song	rise out of man	MacDiarmid?	
818-9	There is no language	Dorian choral poetry	MacDiarmid	Lucky Poet 155
818-9	And the way Stesichorus learned his method of handling	And owed his form to Dorian choral poetry	Holt, Oliver D., and Smyth, Austin Edward Arthur Watt	INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LYRIC POETS 4/4/1936 296
819	I have known all the Shihp'in	Is intrinsic and not extrinsic		The Importance of Living 1937
819	With exact appreciation of	in my vision now	MacDiarmid	Lucky Poet 155
819-20	And so, in a coup d'oeil	Stefan George	Not yet known	
820	And, most of all	Antonio Machado	Not yet known	
820	But most I delight	Clegyr or lowwerth Peate	Not yet known	
820-1	Ah, in the Gaelic countries still	aristocracy of wealth	Williams, Orlo	England through Irish Eyes. 25/12/1937 TLS 974
821	Ah, Joyce, this is our task		MacDiarmid?	
821-3	Making what a moving	has affinity and resembles	Ward, Richard Heron	The Powys Brothers: A Study 1935
823	When climbing on to the ice-cap	puzzle and Alpine climber	Buchan, John	A Prince of Captivity 1933
	That is what adventuring in dictionaries means	But all language ...		
	... A glare like that of an arc-lamp		Buchan, John	A Prince of Captivity 1933
824	No self-deceptions	of one's powers	Not yet known	
824	Breaking completely	laziness and fear	Ward, Richard Heron	The Powys Brothers: A Study 1935
824	No shred left us in common now		MacDiarmid?	
824	With those who mistake	crisis our deadliest peril	Buchan, John	The Gap in the Curtain 1932
824-5	All language!	Gerald Barry	Stonier, G. W.	Introduction to Bouvard and Pécuchet 1936

825	Nor yet such	the acutest economist	The Use of Gold	30/1/1936	The Glasgow Herald	19
825	Nor the analogues	are given by words alone	Not yet known			
825-6	In these days of ballyhoo	Chinese poets	MacDiarmid	Lucky Poet		332
826-7	I praise you then, Joyce	the masterly marksman	Not yet known			
827	I mean the quality	back for self-examination	Richards, Ivor Armstrong	Mencius on the Mind	1932	
827-8	It is the miracle of literature	for which the first was made	MacDiarmid	The Poet as Prophet	1953	
828	Here, indeed, is the bending of Ulysses bow		Homer	The Odyssey		
828	The arrow is called	doing its work	Monier-Williams	Indian Wisdom	1876	359n3
828	So too archery	state has been reached			1954	The Listener 621
828	Where there are	No resurrection	Nietzsche			
828-9	I rejoiced when	I was frightened	White, T. H.	The Sword in the Stone		
829	It is a very old	with its wings	MacDiarmid?			
829-30	And the famous episode	goddesses of war	Hubert, Henri	The Greatness and Decline of the Celts	1934	
830	But the crow cannot	had never moved	MacDiarmid?			
830	Do not forget the scene	Or the like scene in the Odyssey	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom	1876	453 388-9
	The bow I speak of	stream of cow's urine				
830-1	The best wood is yew	Like a bullet	Not yet known			
831	Of that kind-slaying	flint, the head	Doughty, Charles	The Dawn in Britain		
831-2	Yet here even	the Renaissance! Back	Not yet known			
832	To the 'best that has been thought and felt in the world'		Arnold, Matthew	Culture and Anarchy		
832	Back to John Keats	it includes death	Not yet known			
832-3	I am not sure	of life here	Whitman, Walt	Preface to Leaves of Grass		
833	I too to whom	meat without hands	Not yet known			
833-4	Bien (dit M. Teste)	in a cycle of renewal	Suckling, Norman	Paul Valéry and the Civilised Mind		
834	Here or anywhere else	and Sucklings!	MacDiarmid?			

834	Out of the intensity	only true life	Gribble, Francis Henry, et al	"New Books and Reprints."	3/5/1934	TLS	323+
834-5	Excessus mentis	unholy delight	Not yet known				
835	Like the man who	was always breaking in	Boswell, James	The Life of Samuel Johnson			
835	In occasional ascholic	the autotelic			1954	The Listener vol 51	883
835	Yet, continually	the eternal radiance	Not yet known				
835-6	The vision is	mummy-cloth are wound		[Review of] YEATS' "A VISION"	20/1/1938	The New English Weekly	
836	Ah, Joyce, thus	faced to-day	MacDiarmid?				
836-8	With a world	suppressed	Carill, H. F.	"Man's Future."	11/8/1945	TLS	376
838	The last long wain	free to sport and play	Scott, Walter	The Heart of Midlothian			
838	Even as in a description of rain	Could have said it!	Barzun, Jacques	Classic, Romantic and Modern	1943		
838	Stim'ra d'l'isa	coming through the window	Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, and John Sampson	The Secret Languages of Ireland	1937		
838-40	Speech. All men's whore	In desirable sequences	Not yet known				

"The Snares of Varuna"

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
840	The world is fast bound	(Pasaih sarpa-rajjughih)	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom			16n3
840	... The winkings of men's eyes	As gamesters handle dice.	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom			16
840	...These are the unexamined days	Of false witness	Not yet known				
840	... -- a barbarous regime which gives power over life and death	deprived of its salt	Salvemini, Gaetano	Carlo and Nello Rosselli: A Memoir	1937		49
840-1	Already, everywhere	that if a thing	Not yet known				

841	Runs like a machine	Against the claims of	Woolf, Leonard	After the Deluge: A Study of Com- munal Psychology	1931
841-2	Aminu Kano	On any level worthy of Man at all	Not yet known		
842	The ancestors of oysters and barnacles	will finally become extinct	Haldane	The Inequality of Man: And Other Essays.	1937
842-3	Let us endure	To the Nth degree.)	Not yet known		
843-4	Of human beings	majority of ears are deaf	Huxley, Aldous	Ends and Means	1937
844	Ah, types of mind and body	The schizothemes	Not yet known		
844	Now by the	in her time	Merchant of Venice I.i	All slight misquotations. Quoted from somewhere else?	
844	I, the Lord	I try the reins	Jeremiah 17.10		
844	What care I for the limbs	Give me the spirit	2Hen4 III.ii		
844-5	We must look at the harebell	The universal is the particular	Thomas, Sir W. Beach	The Open Air	15/7/1945 The Observer 2
845-7	And in a poem like this	The others to Tartarus	Not yet known	Check possible source ---->	
847-8	The influence of Plato's	Audit department	Wood, G. O.	The Problem of Logic	10/9/1938 TLS 580
848-9	The difficulty here	poisoned Pushkin too	Not yet known		
849-50	Like Stifter	Of simplicity and innocence	Adler, Bruno, Dr.	Growth and Consumption	8/15/1952 TLS 532
850	So the American angler is right who tells how	Slowly rises to the fly ...	Headlam, Maurice Francis	An American Angler	9/11/1935 TLS 715
850-1	... So Pushkin is clear enough	Appreciates its service as a tooth- pick	Not yet known		
851	Moreover as I have often told	brown trout	MiacDiarmid?		
851	My heart would be set	oar-like blades	Mitchell, Peter Chalmers, Dr.	Fish, Whale and Dolphin	11/9/1937 TLS 651
851	And then I'd have Dorado	great mako shark	Headlam, Maurice Francis.	The Fisherman Abroad	26/6/1937 TLS 473
850	And largest of	The blue rorqual ...	Mitchell, Peter Chalmers, Dr.	Fish, Whale and Dolphin	11/9/1937 TLS 651

851	... and even then	not to throw in again	Not yet known	"ontological heroics" taken from a letter from Melville to Hawthorne	
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"The Meeting of the East and the West"

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
852	Wilt thou unite	and all is said	Goethe	The Influence of Indian Thought	1928		
852	Goethe wrote	distortions of all kinds	MacDiarmid?				
852-5	Remembering how Anton von Pforr	thoroughly consequential meaning	Helmuth von Glasenapp	The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature	1928		189-200
855-6	Who, however, sees the supreme God	Digvijaya' to the West	Helmuth von Glasenapp	The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature	1928		204-209
856	Heine's words remain true	Shall not escape us	Helmuth von Glasenapp	The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature	1928		195
856	... We cannot accept a divided world	As when he says:...	MacDiarmid?				
856	..It is a problem worth considering	also in human nature.'	F. Max Müller	India: What Can it Teach Us	1883		118
856	Yeats has advised	than in my mind	Not yet known				
856	-- One may see in this a spiritual	[Two lines of Sanskrit]	Helmuth von Glasenapp	The Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy and Literature	1928		209
852-6	Goethe wrote	..verse of extreme beauty	Not yet known				
856	[Two lines of Sanskrit]		Not yet known				
856-7	Over a century ago	exactly the same notes	Not yet known				
857	Music imparts the same emotion	down to the present	Laloy, Louis	Mirror of China (Trans. Catherine Alison Phillips)	1936		
857	He is right	As Laloy says	MacDiarmid?				
857	The silence is only broken	to prolong human life	Laloy, Louis	Mirror of China (Trans. Catherine Alison Phillips)	1936		

“England is Our Enemy”

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
858-68	How much knowledge	survives among the nations	Ford, Ford Madox	Stocktaking: towards a Re-valuation of English Literature	1924	transatlantic review	
868-9	Nor will the name of Rosebery	It had to be said	MacDiarmid?				
869	Tha cuid de'n	ir a' chùis	Grant, Isabel Frances	The Lordship of the Isles	1935		
869-70	Indeed such names as these	creeping in again	Ford, Ford Madox	Stocktaking: towards a Re-valuation of English Literature	1924	transatlantic review	

“Plaited Like the Generations of Men”

Pp.	Start of excerpt	End of excerpt	Author	Title	Date	Publication	Pp.
871	Come follow me	eternally moved	Busoni, Ferruccio	The Realm of Music	16/12/1937	The New English Weekly	189-90
871	More wonderful than those miraculous isles of Greece		Not yet known				
871	Lily on lily, that o'erlace the sea		Browning	Cleon			
871	Than the marvellous	delighted me of the ...	Not yet known				
871-2	... masterly and exhaustive	an elaborate power / And beauty	Wood, G. O.	Nicolai Hartmann	12/5/1932	TLS	342
871n1	The gods haing placed Vishnu	Satapatha-brahmana	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom			
871n2	When we have once penetrated	blossoming and sublime melody	Busoni, Ferruccio?	Possibly different source to above			
872	Oh, Aodhagán Ó Rathaille meets again	Like the generations of men	MacDiarmid	Cencrastus			
872	All the knowledge is woven	information is drawn	Not yet known				
872-3	Each sound is the centre of endless circles	beings in a million ages	Busoni, Ferruccio	The Realm of Music	16/12/1937	The New English Weekly	189-90
873	Revealed as Krishna revealed his form	bristling with awe	Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom			
873	Or like the tremendous vision	mortal and immortal love	Santayana, George	The Genteel Tradition at Bay	1931		

873	Or like Descartes' dream	symbol of inspiration	Not yet known			
873	Or like the 'sudden illumination'	Geddesian concepts'	Smith, Garnet	Eros and Psyche	5/9/1935	TLS 548
873-4	Or like the moment	Plato's theory of reminiscence	Belgion, Montgomery	The 'Offence' of the God-Man: Kierkegaard's Way of Faith	27/3/1937	TLS 229
874	If you examine	all united are life	Busoni, Ferruccio	The Realm of Music	16/12/1937	The New English Weekly 189-90
874 & n	Svaham aham samharami		Monier-Williams, Monier	Indian Wisdom	1876	
874-5	Or like that moment in which Kassner assembles	in the ordering of materials	Troy, William	Three novels by André Malraux	1936	The Nation
875-6	Am I only fobbing myself off	At this great crisis	Not yet known			
876	When the impending task of mankind	Of 'Warfare' and 'persuasion'	Wood, G. O.	Wisdom from the East.	25/5/1940	TLS 252
876	At this moment when braiding	Seemingly multifarious	MacDiarmid?			
876-7	... nevertheless connected with a system	intellectualism of plato	Wood, G. O.	Modes of Thought	12/11/1938	TLS 720
877	The spiritual evolution from vile humanity	others in their vileness	Wood, G. O.	Mr Weir's Philosophy.	13/6/1935	TLS 379
877	Even those Holywood moguls	yahoos and intellectuels-filcs	Not yet known		c. 1954	
877-8	Are not subjects for persuasion	From another	Wood, G. O.	Mr Weir's Philosophy.	13/6/1935	TLS 379
878	... Well. We have no means	That consists with self universal	Not yet known			
878	Everlasting layers	other great convulsions	Tomlinson, Philip	De Quincey's Retreat	10/6/1939	TLS 340-1
878-9	It is with me now	when he made	MacDiarmid?			
879	A symbology of the view	infinite repose	Tomlinson, Philip	De Quincey's Retreat	10/6/1939	TLS 340-1
879	Even so am I now	who in lower life	Not yet known			
879-881	Deeming all philosophical systems	Free from mystical elements ...	Stapledon, Olaf	The Philosophic Temper (review of Santayana's "Obiter Scripta")	10/1/1936	The London Mercury and Bookman 551-2
881	... Have I found	A universal Munich	Not yet known			

881n	M. Paul Hazard	sed lex of Europe	Eccles, Francis Yvon	'Une Renaissance sans Joie': An Age of Intellectual Ferment	7/12/1935	TLS	828
881n	If Europe can accept	our own civilisations	Russell, Martin, and Evans, Joan, Miss	THE ART OF INDIA	2/7/1954	TLS	422
881n	As Aubrey Menen says	men turn their backs on it	Menen, Aubrey	Rama Retold			
882	Ah Joyce	how greatly that's due to you	MacDiarmid?				
882	That we are beginning more and more	the trail you blazed	Franz Marc qtd in Thoene, Peter	Modern German Art	1938		66-67
882	To-day we are breaking up the chaste	Tolerates but does not recognise	Journal article ----->	Modern German Art	1938		67
883	After all	our own uncsciousness	Huxley, T. H.	On the Physical Basis of Life			
883	And I know with Christian Morgenstern	the old world has collapsed	Morgenstern's diary				
883	The change which takes place is not	is a sound and vigorous growth	Stephen, Leslie	An Apology for Plainspeaking			
883	Will be expressed	profound uncanny wonder	Morgenstern's diary				
883	Falling athwart	of our disinterestedness	Not yet known				
883	All but an infinitesimal percentage	means less than nothing to them	Macdiarmid?				
883-4	Larvae, hallucinated automata	a new human mathematic	Wyndham Lewis				
884	Yet, as Gaudapada says	so this world	Dasgupta, Surendranath	Yoga as Philosophy and Religion	2013		24
884	Of words, thoughts, memories	Mum's the word!	MacDiarmid?				
884	Responsibility for the present	the super-objective, / The final reality ...	Williams, Orlo	The Ideas of Professor Jaspers	15/8/1952	TLS	537
884	... to which human life can attain	Short of that every man is guilty	Not yet known				
884	Living only the immediate life	of Sartre	Rippon, A. S. F.	Personalism Expounded	15/8/1952	TLS	537
885	I believe it will be in every connection	aesthetic sense of colour	Not yet known				
885	Apart from a handful of scientists and poets	great masses of mankind	Not yet known				
885	With every hour	Like a tube of radium	John Dickson Carr	The Reader is Warned	1939		

885	As most people hope	who tries to make them think	Not yet known			
885-6	For Schönberg was right	evolution of music	Mellers, Wilfrid Howard, Professor.	The Twelve-Note Technique	30/3/1951	TLS 198
886	As with Shonberg's so with your work	Red Indian and white man	Not yet known			
886	Sophistication wars with simplicity everywhere / With only one possible conclusion		Cunliffe, Marcus	The Literature of the United States	1954	
886	...There can be no doubt	conflicting interests and relation-ships	Not yet known			
886	Even as nerves	They will be wanted to report on...	Sherrington, Charles	Man on his Nature	1951	98
886	...Everywhere we find	All is provided...	Sherrington, Charles	Different source?		
886-7	...As Aristotle says	know the why of it	Sherrington, Charles	Man on his Nature	1951	99
887	So with your work	its erudition	MacDiarmid?			
887	The intricacy of the connections	In tennis labor	Sherrington, Charles	Man on his Nature	1951	108
887	Before it the mind halts	developments to come	Not yet known			
887-8	Even so long before the foetus	And so completes the canal	Thursfield, Hugh, Dr	Romance of Speculation	25/11/1939	TLS 689
888	Ah, Joyce!	in both senses!"	MacDiarmid?			
888	But the peacock flew in	streaming out behind	Brander, L. R. M.	English Life in India	1/6/1951	TLS 343
888	A magnificent ek-stasis	visible to the mind alone	Not yet known			
888	And so I come to	And bid you, Joyce ...	MacDiarmid?			
888-9	...what is the word	'che' in Argentina	Dodge, David	The Long Escape.	1948	
889	And so, like Horace	'Non me rebus subungere conor!'	Not yet known			
889	Sab thik chha		Not yet known			

